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**THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURIST
CULTURE AND THE FORMATION OF
SOCIAL AND CULTURAL IDENTITIES
1800–1914, WITH PARTICULAR
REFERENCE TO CENTRAL EUROPE**

An appraisal submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of the University of Northumbria at
Newcastle for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by
published work

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ABSTRACT

The essays presented here for submission for the degree of PhD by publication were published between 1998 and 2006 and (with one exception) consist of sole-authored studies in cultural history focused on the development of tourist culture in the period 1800–1914. Cultural history as a field of academic study is a rich area for interdisciplinary research and these case studies draw on a wide range of disciplines – anthropology, cultural geography, the history of medicine, visual culture, media and literature for theoretical and methodological support. Together, they constitute a coherent examination of the material and cultural factors influencing the development and expansion of tourist culture across the European continent and an exploration of its role in the formation of the social and cultural identities of people and places in the period 1800–1914, in different contexts and from different perspectives.

The essays fall into two main groups. The first focuses on material and cultural factors influencing the growth of tourism in central Europe: its relationship to the development of urban culture and nationalism in the region and to the discourses and practices relating to health and leisure that supported the spa trade. A particular concern is the contribution of a developing tourist culture to the formation of cultural identities within the Habsburg Monarchy in an era of growing nationalism. For the state, tourism represented an opportunity to counteract its growing weakness by capitalising on the imperial image (a

key element in touristic images of Vienna), to bolster the image of the Monarchy abroad and attract valuable foreign currency. At the same time the growth of tourism contributed to that weakness by reinforcing perceptions of cultural distinctiveness in areas influenced by growing national and regional self-consciousness.

The second group of essays focuses on the production of tourists and the creation of a market for different types of tourism through an examination of the discourses influencing tourist motivations and behaviours, the experience and performance of place and the broader question of how and why tourists were attracted to particular places. A theme running through both sets of essays is that of the way that the spread of tourist culture, geographically and socially, contributed to the formation of cultural identities as particular social groups incorporated tourist practices into their lifestyles, and the places they visited acquired distinctive tourist images. Key factors in this process were the media and cultural industries responsible for the production and dissemination of travel-related forms of literature and visual culture. These industries helped to shape tourism as an economic and social institution by influencing the way in which particular places were produced for tourists and the manner in which they were perceived, experienced and performed as, for example, in case of the relationship between the British and different parts of continental Europe.

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LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

1. **The ‘travel romance’ and the emergence of the female tourist.**

In *Studies in Travel Writing* 2 (1998): 85–105.
2. **Misses Brown, Jones and Robinson: touristic writing and touristic performance.**

Journeys 1/2 (1999): 36–56.
3. **The Potemkin City: Touristic Images of Late-Imperial Vienna.**

In *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity*, Studies in Imperialism, edited by Felix Driver and David Gilbert, (Manchester: Manchester University, 1999, reprinted 2003), 78–95.
4. **Introduction.**

Co-authored with Malcolm Gee and Tim Kirk. In *The City in Central Europe: Culture and Society from 1800 to the Present*, edited by Malcolm Gee, Tim Kirk and Jill Steward (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 1–18.
5. **Gruss aus Wien: the Tourist Culture of Fin-de-Siècle Vienna.**

In *The City in Central Europe: Culture and Society from 1800 to the Present*, edited by Malcolm Gee, Tim Kirk and Jill Steward (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 125–143.
6. **The Spa Towns of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire and the Growth of Tourist Culture: 1860–1914.**

In *New Direction in Urban History: Aspects of European Art, Health, Tourism and Leisure since the Enlightenment*, Münsteraner schriften zur Volkskunde/Europäische Ethnologie, edited by Peter Borsay, Gunter Hirshfelder and Ruth E. Mohrmann (Münster: Waxmann, 2000), 87–126.

7. **Tourism in Late Imperial Austria: the Development of Tourist Cultures and their Associated Images of Place.**

In Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture and Identity in Modern Europe and North America, edited by Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 108–134.
8. **The Culture of the Water Cure in Nineteenth-Century Austria, 1800–1914.**

In Water, Culture and Leisure, edited by Susan B. Anderson and Bruce Taube, *European Historical Perspectives* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 23–35.
9. **The Image of Austria in British Travel Literature before the First World War 1860–1914.**

In Austria and the Austrians: Images in World Literature, edited by Wolfgang Goertschacher and Holger Klein (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 2003), 107–117.
10. **Bibliographical essays:**

(a) **The Alps.**

(b) **Central Europe.**

(c) **Illustration.**

(d) **Journals and Journalists.**

In The Literature of Travel and Exploration; an Encyclopaedia (3 vols.), edited by Jennifer Speake (Chicago: Taylor and Francis, 2003), vol. 1: 14–16, 220–224; vol. 2: 587–591, 659–662.
11. **Performing Abroad: British Tourists and Travel to Italy: 1840–1914.**

In Architecture, Performance and Space, edited by D. Medina Lasansky and Brian McLaren (Berg: Oxford/New York, 2004), 53–72; translated by María Jesús Rivas as: ‘Actuación, en el extranjero: los turistas británicos en Italia y sus prácticas, 1840–1914’. In: *Arquitectura y turismo: percepción, representación y lugar* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 2006), 73–93.

12. Grant Allen and the Business of Travel.

In Grant Allen: Literature and Cultural Politics at the Fin de Siècle, edited by William Greenslade and Terence Rodgers, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 155–170.

13. ‘How and Where to Go’: The Role of Travel Journalism in Britain and the Evolution of Foreign Tourism, 1840-1914.

In Tourisms: Identities, Environments, Conflicts and Histories, edited by John K. Walton (Clevedon: Channel View, 2005), 39–54.

14. Representations of Spa Culture in the Nineteenth - Century British media: Publicity, the Press and the *villes d’eaux*: 1800–1914.

In Spas in Britain and France in the 18th & 19th Centuries, edited by Annick Cossic and Patric Galliou (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2006), 375–411.

APPRAISAL OF RESEARCH

The aim of this project was to add to knowledge in the field of study constituted by tourism history through an examination of ways in which the expansion of tourist culture contributed to the formation of the social and cultural identities of peoples and places in a number of different contexts. The organising thread linking these essays, and the basis of their coherence as a set of studies, is their focus on the particular factors supporting and promoting these developments in the period 1800–1914. By examining the factors making for the growth of different kinds of tourism in a number of geographically distinct contexts, they sought to demonstrate that the impact of tourism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was felt right across continental Europe. At the same time they examine the way that the spread of tourist culture was dependent not only on material, but also on cultural factors such the dissemination of place-images and the discourses structuring and informing the practices associated with health, travel and consumption.

The publishing process

Recent interest in leisure and consumption has led to a general acceptance of these topics as legitimate concerns for historians but at the point at which I began this project (c.1994) the subject of tourism history

was a relatively under-researched area of the discipline of history.¹ I soon discovered that the nature of the subject meant that it was amenable to a cross-disciplinary approach, which made it particularly attractive to me because of my own interdisciplinary background in the humanities and social sciences. My research strategy centred on acquiring as much familiarity with primary sources as possible, trying out interpretative and explanatory concepts, and developing my ideas through participation in relevant conferences, preferably of international status, across a range of disciplines, with the intention of disseminating my findings through publication in articles and edited book collections. I was assisted by research skills acquired in the course of my academic career, for example, my experience of supervising student dissertations and postgraduate teaching, as well as the training for PhD by publication provided by the University.

The initial impetus for this research came from my evolution into a cultural historian. A focus for my interests appeared with the formation of the Research Group for European Urban Culture and my involvement in its activities, including the organisation of a conference 'Cultural Boundaries: the City in Central Europe' at Northumbria University in 1994. My initial concern was with fin-de-siècle Vienna, a city in which I had a long-standing interest as a consequence of my academic involvement with a number of different fields – history, philosophy,

¹ David C. Engermann, 'A research agenda for the history of tourism: towards an international social history', *American Studies International* 32 (1994): 3–31. John Towner, 'Tourism History: Past, Present and Future', in *Tourism: the State of the Art*, edited by A.V. Seaton (John Wiley: Chichester, 1994), 721–728.

sociology and the history of visual culture. A review of historical and sociological literature on cultural reception in the nineteenth century for the Group aroused my interest in possible ways in which this might be helpful in thinking about Vienna, in the course of which I became interested in the contribution of tourism to the culture of the city. A Northumbria research award to the Group funded my first visit to Vienna and its archives as a result of which I wrote a research paper for the Group on the development of the city's tourist culture, a subject on which there was relatively little published and nothing in English. A further consequence was a series of conference papers, the first of which was given to an international conference on Tourism and Culture at Northumbria,² a second to the 3rd International Conference of the Association of European Urban Historians in Budapest and a third to an international conference on Imperial Cities.⁴ These led to invitations to publish (publications nos. 5 and 7). In these papers and essays I explored factors supporting the growth of tourist culture in Austria, paying particular attention to the formation of tourist place-images at a time of growing regional and national self-consciousness in some of the areas to which tourists were attracted. Publication no. 5, '*Gruss aus Wien*', appeared in the edited collection, *The City in Central Europe*, in which I

² Conference paper: *University of Northumbria* (1996), published as: 'Tourist Place-Images in Late-Imperial Austria', in *Tourism and Culture: Image, Identity and Marketing*, edited by Mike Robinson, Nigel Evans and Paul Callaghan, (Cleveland: Centre for Travel and Tourism, 1996): 231–250.

⁴ Conference papers: 3rd International Conference, Association of European Urban Historians, *Budapest* (1996); *Royal Holloway College* (1997).

was a co-author of the introduction (publication no. 4 - see Appendix), while 'The Potemkin city' (publication no. 3) was published in an edited collection, *Imperial Cities*. Publication no. 7 expanded and developed the material of the Northumbria conference paper, appearing in an edited collection *Being Elsewhere*. Participation in the 4th International Conference of the European Urban Historians led to a study of the spa towns of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (publication no. 6) which was published in an edited collection *New Directions in Urban History*.⁵ Since the expansion of the tourist industry in the Monarchy coincided with growing ethnic and national self-consciousness in the non-Crown lands, an issue explored in this first group of essays was that of the relationship between the two and the influence of tourism on the construction of regional and national identity.

As these publications demonstrate, a key factor in the production of a tourist destination is the process whereby it becomes visible and attractive to potential visitors. This theme was a central concern in the second series of conference papers and published essays (publications nos. 1, 2, 9, 11–14) in which my interest in the expansion of print and visual culture led to me to reflect more directly on their contribution, firstly, to the production of place-images and the creation of a market for tourism, and secondly, to the production of tourists and tourist behaviours, a line of inquiry I developed in a separate, but related group

⁵ 4th International Conference, Association of Urban Historians, *Venice* (1998).

of conference papers on travel literature.⁶ The first of these was an article 'The "travel romance"' linking the motivation to travel with gender and fantasy by using examples from romantic literature, including a novel about tourists in fin-de-siècle Vienna.⁷ I was invited to publish in a journal, *Studies in Travel Writing* (publication no. 1). A second paper led to an article on tourist performance, 'Misses Brown, Jones and Robinson' (publication no. 2). This developed my interest in different kinds of tourist practices and the question of how these influenced perceptions and performance of place. Both articles explored the way that travel-related literature and imagery influenced British perceptions of foreign places and tourist behaviours, a theme also examined in a short essay, 'The Image of Austria in British Travel Writing before the First World War' (publication no. 9).

Research for four short bibliographical essays on travel and travel writing (publications nos. 10a/b/c/d), together with a series of conference papers on the relationship between travel, tourism and visual culture,⁸ made me reflect further on the complexity of the processes through which places are produced and on the conflicts and tensions involved in the construction and negotiation of regional and cultural identities and on the contributions of visual culture and journalism to the evolution of travel practices.

⁶ Conference papers: *Universities of Edinburgh* (1997), *Durham* (1998), *Brighton* (2000), *Ulster* (1998); *University* (2003) and a colloquium, *University of Salzburg* (2000).

⁷ Dorothea Gerard, *The City of Enticement* (Stanley Paul: London, 1911).

⁸ Conference papers: *Universities of Bergen* (2000), *Amsterdam* (2002).

An invitation to contribute an essay on the water cure in Austria (publication no. 8) to an edited collection, *Water, Leisure, Culture*, was an opportunity to examine in greater detail the way that spa culture was informed by the cultural discourses of health, medicine and travel.⁹ An invitation to contribute an essay, 'Performing Abroad' (publication no. 11), to an edited volume *Tourism and Architecture*, allowed me to revisit the subject of tourist performance and the experience of place. I began to focus on the processes determining the production of place-images in the media and their role in the promotion of tourism to reading communities, something I considered to have a direct bearing on the formation of tourist motivations and the behaviours through which individuals expressed their perceptions of place. I explored these issues systematically in a series of conference papers examining different types of travel-related literature and imagery from guidebooks to ephemera such as postcards.¹⁰ An essay on a professional writer, 'Grant Allen and the Business of Travel' (publication no. 12), published in an edited collection, encouraged me to explore the origins of travel journalism, a subject I had begun to research in a short bibliographical essay

⁹ The ideas for this essay were initially explored in a conference paper, *Northumbria University* (2001), and developed in recent conference papers and publications dealing with the relationship between discourses relating to food, health and medicine, *Universities of Central Lancashire* (2006), *Innsbruck / Touriseum Merano* (2006) *University of Warwick* (Venice) (2007).

¹⁰ Conference papers: *Anglia Ruskin University* (2000), 5th and 7th International Conferences of the Association of European Urban Historians, *Berlin* (2000), *Athens* (2004), *Sheffield Hallam University* (2004).

(publication no. 10d).¹¹ I developed this theme in 'How and Where to Go' (publication no. 13), which was published in an edited collection *Histories of Tourism*.¹² This examined the contribution of travel journalism to the development of a growing and increasingly differentiated market for tourist travel and the formation of the distinctive lifestyles and cultural practices distinguishing particular social groups. I then took the opportunity of bringing some of these concerns together in a extended essay 'Representations of Spa culture in the Nineteenth-century British Media' (publication no. 14), arising from a conference paper examining the mechanisms determining choice in the British market for continental spa tourism,¹³ as a way of approaching the question of why tourists confronted with a growing number of alternative destinations in an increasingly competitive marketplace, chose to go where they did.

Methodology

All of these essays draw on primary and secondary sources. Of the primary sources, the most important were materials in the collections of the British Library, the National Art Library, the London Library, the Museum of London, the Wellcome Institute, the National Library of Scotland, the Austrian National Library, the Vienna City Library, the University Libraries of Newcastle, Durham and Northumbria, Newcastle

¹¹ This originated in conference papers at the Universities of *Bath Spa* (2000) and *Manchester Metropolitan* (2001) *Newcastle* (2001).

¹² This originated in a paper, *University of Central Lancashire* (2002).

¹³ This paper originated in a conference paper, *University of Brest* (2005).

upon Tyne, Birmingham, Manchester and Edinburgh Public Libraries and the Newcastle upon Tyne Literary and Philosophical Society. Particularly important were spa handbooks and travel guides, diaries, journals, memoirs, biographies, travel and medical handbooks, newspapers and periodicals and ephemera, such as postcards. The bulk of this material was in English, but I also used German sources such as handbooks and guides where available. A helpful context for reviewing the literature was the writing of short but thoroughly researched bibliographic essays for the *Literature of Travel and Exploration: an Encyclopaedia* (publication no. 10).

Secondary sources provided an overview of issues relating to the historical background and theoretical context for these essays as well as essential information about statistics as, for example, those relating to spa registration and tourist flows in the Habsburg Monarchy. Much of this material was in English, but I also drew on literature in German. Recent work on the social and political history of central Europe was invaluable in the attempt to understand the ethnic, national and regional tensions within the region, as were studies of British society in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, particularly those dealing with the aristocracy and the middle classes, leisure and consumption and issues of identity. Also useful was recent historical work on the media and publishing industries, particularly studies of the periodical press, on travel and travel writing and on writing and gender.

Cultural history, as it is currently practiced, is a 'broad church' and these essays draw on theoretical and methodological perspectives across a number of different disciplines. One reason for this is that, as

John K. Walton has pointed out, cultural studies in tourism history adopt a different approach from the more formal paradigm favoured in tourism studies in that they tend to use evidence in 'more allusive, indirect and cross-referential ways'.¹⁴ These essays are very much in that mode for although I undertook a literature search for each of these essays, I also tried out concepts and models from a range of disciplines to see which appeared to offer the most appropriate and illuminating way of organising and interpreting the data, an approach which allowed me to experiment with ideas which interested me, such as the comparison between pilgrimage and health tourism adopted in 'The Culture of the Water Cure' (publication no. 8) or the relationships between tourist motivation, gender and romantic fiction in 'The "travel romance"' (publication no. 1).

My first publications analysing the factors influencing the development of tourist culture in Vienna and the Habsburg Monarchy looked to existing studies in tourism history as models. These usually had a strong materialist dimension in that they focused on the economic and technological developments facilitating travel. Contemporary tourism studies provided insights into the processes through which places are produced and analyses of factors influencing tourist motivation but usually these had relatively little to offer in terms of an historical perspective. There was however, an extensive and growing literature with an art historical and historical dimension centred around terms like 'representation', 'place-image' and 'tourist-gaze' that provided templates

¹⁴ John K. Walton, ed., *Histories of Tourism, Representation, Identity, Conflict* (Cleveland: Channel View, 2005), 2.

for demonstrating how particular places come to be identified as 'somewhere' and coded aesthetically and narratively. These suggested helpful lines of inquiry and provided models to work with, as did a number of studies dealing with the production of visual culture in the context of tourism. Work from a range of disciplines such as cultural geography, anthropology, sociology and ethnography offered practical assistance by offering models and metaphors that could function as useful heuristic devices for thinking about a number of issues, particularly the question of what tourist travel meant to the individuals concerned, and suggesting ways in which it might be possible to move beyond the cliché of the 'gazing' tourist and the 'traveller/tourist' distinction in order gain a better insight and understanding of the specific historical and cultural contexts in which people became tourists and what their experiences meant to them. Particularly helpful as a tool for conceptualising and modelling the processes through which particular places were produced and articulated as tourist sights was the dramaturgical metaphor invoking concepts such as 'staging' and 'performance'.¹⁵

Models of this kind drew my attention to the way that particular places were transformed into tourist spaces through the 'spatial practices' and 'strategies of motion' that determined the way that places come to be

¹⁵ Dean MacCannell's seminal study, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (London: Macmillan, 1976) was extremely helpful since, as David Chaney has pointed out, this analogy (currently unfashionable among sociologists) remains one of the root metaphors in the conceptualisation of tourism, *Cultural Change and Everyday Life* (London: Palgrave, 2002), 195.

seen and experienced. I was particularly influenced by the work of Judith Adler who compared travel to an 'art of performance', referring to it as a way of 'world-making',¹⁶ a way of thinking about tourism which opened up the material to analysis from a number of different perspectives. For example, it opened up questions about the processes involved in the articulation of place images and the factors encouraging the naturalisation of relationships between the visible features of tourist environments and legendary or 'constructed' pasts. This mode of analysis had particular relevance for the Habsburg Monarchy where interest in national and regional histories and cultures made people and places into significant objects of interest and the representation of particular sites and the commemoration of historical figures and events not only fuelled local and regional tensions and the struggle for control of contested meanings, but also created opportunities for 'inventing traditions' and the staging of tourist events serving the interests of local factions and the state (publications nos. 3, 5 and 7).

Thinking about tourist environments as 'designed', 'framed' and 'staged' was helpful when trying to reconstruct ways in which the tourists of the past might have related to particular places, sites and spectacles and was suggestive of ways of analysing the type of rhetorical and narrative appeal they would have carried for particular kinds of audience (publications nos. 1, 8, 11 and 12). A feature of the dramaturgical model was the implied presence of the tourist audiences to which, under the influence of the negative traveller/tourist distinction,

¹⁶ Judith Adler, 'Travel as performed art' *American Journal of Sociology* 84 (1989): 1366–1368.

relatively little attention had been paid and which were frequently represented stereotypically as the disembodied and passive spectators or bearers of the 'gaze'. In this context therefore, thinking of tourists as self-conscious performers appeared to be a possible way forward. Adler had noted that audiences are repositories of historically contingent expectations and 'explicitly articulated standards' of performance and this suggested to myself and others that the processes through which tourist motivations and behaviours were generated deserved closer attention and I drew on this insight in publications nos. 2, and 11. I was particularly interested in the mediating function of the information and publicity that attracted people to specific places and which informed their experience and performance of place and this led me to investigate specific types of publications and to think about ways of investigating the mechanisms generating choices of destination (publications nos. 13 and 14).¹⁷

Contribution to the field of study

These essays represent an original and independent contribution to scholarship and an advance in my chosen field of study in the following ways; firstly, they have presented and disseminated knowledge and understanding of the growth of tourism in central Europe, a subject on which there was very little literature available in English. By promoting awareness of material not previously discussed in the available English

¹⁷ The theme of the experience of place was subsequently explored in a jointly-edited publication, with Alexander Cowan, *The City and the Senses: 1500 to the Present* (Basingstoke: Ashgate, 2006).

histories of tourism, they have helped to broaden the field of study and to lay the foundations for more systematic and comparative treatments of European tourism in the period. Secondly, the essays on the towns and cities of the Habsburg Monarchy (publications nos. 5–7) have made an original contribution to urban history in that they draw attention to the relationship between the spread of urban culture and growth of tourism and its effect on regional and cultural images and identities. Thirdly, the exploration of metaphorically based models in some of the essays such as pilgrimage and performance (publications nos. 8 and 11) as a basis for analysis and interpretation has made a significant contribution to the history of health and cultural tourism. Finally, the studies focused on the role of the media and travel journalism (publications nos. 11–14) represent a highly original approach to the history of tourism, opening up further lines of inquiry.

When I began this project, c.1994, the subject of tourism history was relatively underdeveloped.¹⁸ The publications in this submission have stimulated interest in the field and constitute a significant contribution to knowledge and understanding of the subject, indicated by the way in which the conference papers in which I presented my ideas and material (often to an international audience) resulted in frequent invitations to publish, often with well-known and prestigious imprints such as the University of Michigan Press, Berg and Manchester University Press. Most of the edited volumes cited here have been

¹⁸ See Engermann, 'A research agenda for the history of tourism'; John K. Walton, 'Taking the history of tourism seriously', *European History Quarterly* 27 (1997): 573–578; Walton, 'Introduction', *Histories of Tourism*, 1–18.

reviewed across a wide range of journals. For example, *The City in Central Europe* was widely reviewed, as was *New Directions in Urban History* and *Being Elsewhere*. Both *Imperial Cities* and *Architecture and Tourism* were reissued, the latter in Spanish. In addition, there have been citations of my work in recent publications and I have been invited to contribute book reviews to leading journals in the field,¹⁹ as well as to give visiting lectures and to participate in specialised workshops.²⁰

At the beginning of this project most work published in English relating to my chosen period 1800–1914 focused on Britain, on seaside towns and the Grand Tour, apart from a few general studies and material on travel writing. On the subject of European spa towns there were some general works and exhibition catalogues but little that dealt

¹⁹ For example, publications nos. 3 and 5 were cited in Tag Gronberg, 'The inner man: interior masculinities and early modernism in fin-de-siècle Vienna', *Oxford Art Journal* 24, no.1 (2001): 68. Publication no. 7 was cited in *Turizim: the Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, Anne. E. Gorsch and Diane K. Koeker, eds., (Cornell University: Ithaca, 2006) and no. 6 was a source for J. S. Marcus, 'Travel in All Directions: Travel and its meanings in a Modernizing Europe', in Michael Huey (ed.), *Viennese Silver: an Essay in Time, 1780–1918*, edited for the Neue Gallerie, New York and the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hathe Cantz, 2003): 254–360, 387. See, for example, reviews in the *Austrian History Yearbook* 37 (2006), 216–217; *Urban History* 28, 3 (2001) and 33, 3 (2003), 525–526 and the *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 2, 1 (2004) 73–75.

²⁰ For example, visiting Lecture at the Victoria and Albert Museum / Royal College, 'The Toymakers of the Grödnertal', and invited participant in a workshop, Creative Milieus: Culture, Cities, Economies, *Universities of Aachen and Saarbrücken* (2007) and 'Kill or Cure: Water and Health in the Nineteenth Century, Centre for the History of Medicine, University of Warwick (2007).

systematically with the subject of the inland spa trade and there was very little on urban tourism and nothing on the travel press. This was also true of the situation in Austria.²² There were some general and more popular works, a few important articles on tourist flows and a number of local histories in book and article form. The situation with respect to the cultural history of Vienna was rather different but most work in English was focused on the city as a progenitor of cultural modernism and a hothouse of intellectual and artistic activity. And, while there was plenty of material dealing with the 'myth of Vienna', my essays (publications nos. 4–5) situated the subject of the city's image and cultural industries in the context of its developing tourist industry, offering a new perspective on the city's development. Robert Evans, Professor of History at Oxford, who reviewed *The City in Central Europe*, found the discussion of tourism (publication no. 5) 'interesting' although he commented that the author 'cannot make up her mind whether its mythopoeic and nostalgic priorities strengthened or weakened the image of the state'.²³ This was a useful point partially addressed in publication no. 3 which dealt with the Imperial Austrian Exhibition in London (1906) and focused on the importance of the city's tourist image to its economy at a time when the difficult political environment created by the Empire's internal problems and foreign policy conflicted with the desire of Vienna and the alpine regions to attract wealthy foreign tourists. This particular essay was the first detailed study of this event and contributed to the growing body of

²² But see for example, Paulo Prodi, *Il luogo di cura nel tramonto della monarchia d'Asburgo: arco alla fine dell' Ottocento* (Bologna, Mulina, 1996).

²³ Robert J. Evans, 'Review', *English Historical Review*, April (2001): 514.

work on international exhibitions and trade fairs. It was reviewed by the art historian Lynda Nead who focused on the argument that for Austria, tourism represented an opportunity for a decaying dynastic state to attract tourists by capitalising on its imperial image. She noted that 'Jill Steward's excellent essay on late-imperial Vienna...offered an extremely interesting comparison with the study of Rome', commenting that it admirably demonstrated 'the strengths of interdisciplinary research'.²⁴

The studies of health and leisure tourism in the Habsburg Monarchy (publications nos. 5, 6 and 7), were ambitious and important in that they adopted a comparative approach, unusual in work on this region which is often confined to specific regions or successor states, such as the Tirol or the Czech lands, Poland, Hungary. Publication no. 5 offered a comparison of tourism in Vienna, Prague and Budapest while publication no. 7 (which was written at the same time as no. 5) considered Austria as a whole and tried to take into account the way that the development of health and leisure tourism within the different regions was inevitably influenced by state policy, as in for example, the building of the railways and spa legislation. By focusing on the relationship between the growth of tourism and issues of national and regional identity it made an important contribution to ongoing research on nation building in Habsburg Austria. Publication no. 6 was particularly ambitious in that it attempted to deal with these themes across Austria and Hungary in the context of a study of the links between the development of the spa trade and the dissemination of urban culture. Reviewing the essay, John Lowerson commented that it attempted a 'genuinely comparative

²⁴ Lynda Nead, 'Review', *Journal of Historical Geography* 27, no 3, (2001): 465.

approach rather than one which is supposed to add to it in someone else's work'.²⁵ The same review also commented that the methodology was less one of counting and more a 'traditional reliance on the familiar sources of impression and subtleties of language, on the inflexions which make for cultural formation and group identities. And there are pictures, whose presence would have helped many of the other articles and dragged urban history back from the word game it has so often become'. This interpretative or 'culturalist' approach,²⁶ was central to publication no. 8 on the culture of the water cure. This was original in that its line of argument focused on the way that the discourses structuring attitudes to health, travel and medicine sustained the spa industry at the fin-de-siècle, while at the same time functioning as form of cultural critique.

Publications nos. 1 and 2 offered a new perspective on the creation of a market for tourism. The article, 'The 'travel romance' (publication no. 1), was published in a new peer-reviewed and subsequently highly successful journal *Studies in Travel Writing*. The essay was original in that it utilised concepts from the disciplines of literary, film and tourism studies to demonstrate ways in which the female readers of romantic literature were encouraged to position themselves as tourists. It also defined travel writing more broadly than was usually the case, focusing attention on the publication of travel literature as a commercial enterprise. The article was quite widely read and noted in the *Year's*

²⁵ John Lowerson, 'Leisure, Consumption and the European city', *Urban History* 30, 1 (2003): 93–94.

²⁶ Jon Sperber, 'Review', *English Historical Review* 119, no 480 (2004): 238–239.

Studies in English (2001).²⁷ Publication no. 2, 'Misses Jones, Brown and Robinson' also appeared in a new peer-reviewed journal, *Journeys*, and was original in that it examined the subject of tourist performance from a historical perspective, again focusing on the role of visual and print culture. This led to an invitation to contribute to an edited collection (publication no. 11) which was subsequently translated, demonstrating that this material was regarded as a significant addition to the subject in that it added to historical knowledge and understanding of the ways in which tourist experiences were produced and different social groups were motivated to travel and the function of travel practices as markers of social and cultural difference.

All the publications draw on different kinds of travel related literature and ephemera, but publications no 1, 9–14 were particularly focused on the part played by print culture in the promotion of travel. An essay on media stereotypes of Austria, 'The Image of Austria' (publication no. 9), 'The British Abroad' (publication no. 11) and 'How and Where to Go' (publication no. 13) offered new perspectives on this subject in that they focused on the relationship between the media industries, place-images and the market for tourism. Publication no. 12, a study of the journalist Grant Allen, author of a series of cultural guides, was a significant contribution to knowledge and understanding of the cultural politics of the period, linking Allen's views on cultural tourism to his intellectual debt to Herbert Spencer. 'How and Where to Go' (publication no. 13) was the first study to deal with the emergence of

²⁷ *The Year's Work in English Studies* (2001).

(<http://ywes.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/content/full/80/1/52>: 6 (accessed (03/11/2006)).

travel journalism as a distinctive genre, arguing for its contribution to the formation of the distinctive lifestyles of particular social groups. This material was developed in publication no. 14 which represented an independent and original contribution to the field in that it helped to open the way towards a comparative understanding of the development of a commercial market for European health tourism by asking the question of how and why, in the context of a major expansion in the number of destinations open to them, people chose to go to where they did, and examining the different factors influencing choice, particularly that of the media.²⁸ And although the essay was constrained by the context of publication to focus primarily on the Anglo-French spa trade, it situated its changing fortunes within a wider European context.

Conclusion

Finally, this submission for PhD by Publication has sought to demonstrate that the publications collected here have demonstrated the importance of the history of tourism as a subject, both in its own right and as a branch of cultural history. They offer an independent and original contribution to knowledge in the field of study. In particular, they have made a significant contribution by showing that the growth of tourist culture played a part in the formation of the social and cultural identities of people and places. During the period of this study I have

²⁸ This theme is developed in a forthcoming essay, 'The Attractions of Place: the Making of Urban Tourism 1860–1914', in *Creative Urban Milieus: Historical Perspectives on Culture, Economy and the City* (Campus: Frankfurt/New York, 2008), 259–288.

engaged with material that is open to analysis and interpretation from a number of different perspectives and I have been able to demonstrate ways of studying it that have contributed not only to cultural history, but also to other academic fields such as the study of travel writing and cultural geography. This experience has been highly rewarding and enjoyable and I personally have gained an enormous amount from the exchange of ideas and points of view that it has offered.

PUBLICATIONS CITED

THE 'TRAVEL ROMANCE' AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE FEMALE TOURIST

Jill Steward

Margaret Fletcher recalls how, in the 1890s, young British women like herself developed a passion for foreign travel:

Escorts were beginning to be thought unnecessary. Girls would companion one another, allowances could be economised, small earnings husbanded in order to make frequent trips possible. Young English women travelling alone became familiar figures on the Continent. They were accepted as entirely respectable, honest in their dealings, and quite profitable to the tourist industry, but were thought to be decidedly lacking in that *métier de femme* so prized by the Latin peoples. (Fletcher 1939: 114-15).¹

Self-professed 'tourists', fired by tales of the Hungarian countryside, and its unspoilt peasant culture and gypsy music, Fletcher and a companion set off armed only with sketching kits and holdalls (Fletcher 1939: 115).

One influence on these new female tourists was the flood of travel-related literature which was appearing in libraries, bookshops and on station bookstalls. By the 1880s it included memoirs and travelogues, guidebooks, articles in periodicals and magazines devoted entirely to travel while many works of romantic fiction were set in foreign locations or described travel to popular foreign resorts. More 'literary' forms of travel writing included accounts of tourist experiences of the kind that James Sully described as "imaginative description" or "emphatically individual impressions" (Sully 1912: 65). Yet another form of literature featuring travel was the kind of fiction I am going to call the 'travel romance'. I want to suggest that in the early days of the modern travel industry the new forms of literature, targeted at different sections of the reading public, were an important influence on the way that foreign tourism of different kinds was seen as a natural concomitant of specific forms of life-style.

In particular I want to argue that the experience of reading 'travel romances' encouraged women lacking the means or leisure for foreign travel to imagine themselves as potential tourists so that, as their situation improved, they too were motivated to travel abroad, although it was not until after the First World War that they began to do so in significant numbers. Emily and Dorothea Gerard were

examples of writers of romantic fiction whose novels illustrate many of the features that characterise the 'travel romance' and in which the foreign scene was often depicted in a way that made it appear both accessible and romantically attractive. Dorothea Gerard's sentimental novel, *The City of Enticement* (1911) was a particularly interesting example of a romance whose heroines were positioned as tourists in a way that permitted female readers the vicarious experience of visiting Vienna, 'city of pleasure', as it was described in tourist publicity.

The number of women travelling abroad first began to occasion comment in the 1860s when the social and professional élites started to engage enthusiastically with foreign travel.² Some women even began to take advantage of the services of the new travel industry. One of the first tourists to put pen to paper was Miss Jemima Morell recording her experiences of an escorted tourist party.³ The experiences and practices of the 'ordinary British tourist' apart from the 'Grand Tourists' have received relatively little attention until recently, suffering from the effects of the well-worn distinction between 'travellers' and 'tourists' (Buzard 1993: 5). The same is true of the role played by gender in nineteenth-century tourism (Towner 1994: 725), even though many new tourists like Miss Jemima Morell clearly found the experience highly rewarding as her memoirs show: "We had left indeed a country, conscious of having become possessed of a world of busy thoughts and emotions which could never have become ours apart from what we had there seen or heard" (Morell 1963: 112).

This lack of critical interest is surprising since the relationship between gender and travel writing has led to the extensive charting of the various tropes of travel writing: exile, self-discovery, adventure and modernity. Nor has the wider significance of travel writing in general gone unremarked, for as the author of one recent book firmly states, "no work on travel can exclude the important matter of subject formation, ideology and imperialism". The author goes on to suggest that even the notion of 'travel' is ideologically laden with various kinds of eurocentric, imperialistic baggage (Grewal 1996: 2). However tourism history and its associated literature still remain relatively underdeveloped despite the way that early tourists viewed their experiences in ways which were just as much influenced by their place of origin and class, ethnic and national affiliations as those of their more adventurous contemporaries (Towner 1996: 725). In the same way, apart from the attention paid to guidebooks, travel literature related explicitly to tourism still suffers much the same fate as that which, until recently, was the lot of the 'mass culture' to which it is intimately related.

By 1880, as Emily Gerard and her sister Dorothea, were about to publish their first, jointly written novel, foreign tourism had become a well-established practice amongst the European social élites and was growing rapidly as an ever-widening

sector of the middle classes took advantage of the expanding railway networks. The new forms of recreational travel which came into existence in the 1860s, by contrast with the predominantly male travel cultures in existence before the coming of the railways (Adler 1989), included many women, often travelling *en famille* and engaged in a wide range of touristic pursuits. By the middle of the century illustrations in travel books reveal women perching on top of mountain cliffs or reclining in boats punted by their swains (Töpffer 1854: 16; Schmid and Stieler 1874: 3, 163). Female tourists also became increasingly visible as they took advantage of the new services offered by travel agents and became members of the escorted parties that made it increasingly easy and respectable for women to travel alone. One observer who shared the disapproval of the new tourists frequently expressed by members of the old social and cultural élites was Charles Lever. Cringing before the unwelcome intruders, as "droves of these creatures" deluged the cities of Italy, he notes the women among them, usually younger than the men, "travel tossed, but immensely lively, wide-awake, and facetious" (Lever 1865: 85).

As touristic travel became increasingly subject to commercialisation, it was bought and sold in the same way as any other commodity. The link between tourism and consumption was evident in the way that Thomas Cook's promotional magazine *The Excursionist* contained advertisements for every aspect of travel (Brendon 1991: 61) while the more popular guidebooks also incorporated advertisements, not just for hotels, but for all sorts of other travel-related goods. In the new world of consumerism which emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century, the 'romance' of the 'foreign' soon came to play an important role in the strategies adopted by retailers to persuade shoppers to purchase (McClintock 1995). In the new department stores exotic displays were put on with the intent of evoking pleasurable fantasies of far-away places (Williams 1982), helping to turn the stores into a tourist attraction in their own right. Like the department stores, magazines such as the *Lady's Realm* were important for the ways in which they positioned their female readers as consumers of commodities (Beetham 1996). They frequently gave space to travel goods and costumes, often illustrated in an appropriate setting and inviting their readers to participate in the new culture of tourist travel. By the 1890s the *Lady's Realm* was encouraging its readers to travel and participate in active sports. Articles in the *Wide World Magazine* -- whose motto was "truth is stranger than fiction" and which showed the way that activities such as tennis and golf, mountaineering, winter sports or bicycling were becoming incorporated into the general patterns of touristic consumption -- also encouraged women to engage with active sports. Mary. C. Fair's article "'Luging' in the Swiss Riviera", for example, was illustrated with the author's own photographs of female exploits (Fair, 1898: 17). For inexperienced tourists, informative articles supported

by copious advertisements linked the familiar world of commodities to the unknown world of 'abroad'. By the beginning of the next century an article on the English girl extolling her self-reliance and independence was illustrated by a young woman in travelling costume with a carpet bag at her feet (Anon, *Lady's Realm* 1904: 545).

The huge growth in the market for travel literature in the nineteenth century was accompanied by the appearance of new printing technologies which made it possible for enterprising publishers to cater for the tastes and requirements of the new reading publics by creating new forms of publication increasingly differentiated by the class and gender of their readership.⁴ For writers there were new opportunities to engage with different forms of travel writing which, by the 1880s, was separating into works aimed at the upper end of the market and more popular kinds of writing including guidebooks of all kinds and the journalistic and informative articles published in periodicals such as *Travel*, *The Wide World Magazine*, *The Girl's Own Paper* and the *Lady's Realm*.

For the female reader, the experience of reading accounts of foreign places written by women was an important element in encouraging them to think of themselves as tourists and to want to travel abroad.⁵ Particularly helpful in the early stages of the new tourism were diaries and memoirs authored by women, which, supplemented by inconsequential details and helpful social information, made the idea of going abroad seem less alarming. The unknown life of foreign resorts was made intelligible for the novice traveller as it became encoded into the familiar conventions of British social life. Particularly encouraging were Elizabeth Tuckett's sketching diaries of her energetic trips to Switzerland and the Tyrol in the 1860s which had popular appeal and were explicitly advertised by her publisher as useful to inexperienced travellers "who wish to explore parts of the Tyrol that are readily accessible and well-adapted to ladies" (Tuckett 1866: 312).

Travel books by women signalled the gender of their author in their title to the extent that Laurence Oliphant remarked that "There is hardly a country now left for the Englishwoman to write about" (Oliphant 1865: 177).⁶ At a time when the 'cultivated classes' increasingly found themselves mingling with other tourists, works like Tuckett's lively memoir of a family trip to Italy in the 1860s, subtitled *Pen and Pencil Sketches in Italy*, reassured its readers that foreign tourism, properly undertaken, was socially acceptable. For the author, the publication of her impressions was a means of distancing herself from other tourists and of demonstrating the propriety of her own particular brand of 'cultivated' tourism.⁷ Tuckett presented herself as a knowledgeable and competent tourist who understood the value of study, reflection and a good guidebook. Comparing Florence to "an idealised Murray", and "a daily illustration for the book", she viewed the sights in the light of her re-reading of George Eliot's *Romola*, itself a reworking of

the author's own experiences (Tuckett 1866: 182).

Throughout the nineteenth century, tourists were encouraged to think of travel and romance as intimately connected. While watering-places and resorts continued to fulfil their traditional function of marriage markets, travel books constantly invoked the romantic histories of the places they were describing. The widespread association of tourism with marriage-making was illustrated by one account of Bavaria in which the author of a chapter on "Tourists in the Country" remarks that "Love-making is the chief occupation of tourists, it is just the time of year when a man is disposed to seal his fate, and so young ladies always play an important part during the season" (Schmid and Stieler 1874: 158). By the 1880s travel was also linked to romance in the many novels and short stories in which writers used foreign backgrounds for the *mise-en-scène* which they invariably described in the familiar language of scenic tourism. While many of these tales were related to the different kinds of romance formula generated by imperial concerns (Brantlinger 1996: 190), others were related to the role of travel in the new patterns of consumption.

The market for romantic fiction provided women with ways of reworking their experiences for financial gain and of adding glamour and excitement to what were often fairly run-of-the-mill plots. Amelia Edwards began her literary career as a popular novelist and although she made a reputation for her travel writing, she continued to use her experiences as a tourist in novels such as *Lord Brackenbury* (1889), as did Frances Elliot, also better known for her travel books. By the end of the century, as foreign tourism became established amongst a wide range of social classes, tales set in the more popular centres were appearing regularly in publications such as the *Strand Magazine*, the *Lady's Realm* and in magazines like *Travel* which were aimed at a wider and less élite market.⁸ Marie Corelli, who was not particularly well travelled but fully aware of the evocative nature of foreign settings, drew on her own limited experiences in the short story, "An Idyll of Lucerne" (1896), which she wrote for the magazine *Travel*. In the story, the *Song of Satan* (1895), undaunted by her lack of direct experience of the location, she sent a party on a fashionable tourist cruise up the Nile. One of the more sensational examples of the genre was Elinor Glyn's *Three Weeks* (1907), set in Lucerne and in Venice, the scene of many romantic dramas (Thurston 1905-6). As foreign tourism became established amongst a wider range of social classes, stories about tourists appeared regularly in publications such as the *Strand Magazine* and the *Lady's Realm* and in magazines like *Travel* which were aimed at a younger and less élite market.

I would suggest that these 'travel romances' reinforced the way in which women came to think of foreign tourism as normal and desirable. This was particularly true of the women who were unlikely to read the more self-consciously up-market forms

of travel writing but who were increasingly sophisticated as domestic tourists and consumers of the modern urban scene (Walkowitz 1992). In her study of contemporary American female readers of romances, Janice Radway noted that her readers perceived the descriptions of exotic locations and foreign settings which they encountered within these romances as informative (Radway 1991: 474). She attributed this to the way that the reader sees the world of the romance as an extension of her own world, an experience facilitated by the techniques of romance writing. Radway argues that it is the conventionality of the writing which renders the text transparent, facilitating the projection of the familiar codes and conventions of the reader's own world onto the text and generating the collapse of the distance between the real world of the reader and the 'extraordinary' or fantasy world of the romance. As a consequence the text offers a range of positions to the reader which can be negotiated in accordance with their own perspectives and purposes (Radway 1984: 77-78).⁹

In the case of these relatively early 'travel romances' the way in which the background was depicted in the language of popular travel writing offered readers the opportunity for vicarious participation in the new tourist culture, to see the world with a "tourist's gaze" (Urry 1990: 3). As in the published diaries of female tourists, the incidental details 'naturalise' the scene while giving useful guidance about dress and behaviour.¹⁰ For many readers insight into these 'extraordinary' worlds inevitably went along with a vicarious entry into a different social world, the nature of which often determined the choice of foreign setting.¹¹

The assumption that pleasurable fantasies would be conjured up by the idea of movement from the everyday to an extraordinary world was central, not just to the writing of romances, but also to the selling of foreign travel as a new kind of commodity. This was evident in the way that much of the publicity aimed at tourists 'framed' and sold promises of the 'extraordinary' whilst, at the same time, promising to deliver an extension of the 'everyday' in terms of standard and familiar services and facilities (Hummon 1988). That travel agents rapidly became self-conscious 'dream merchants' is shown by the inclusion, in the 1906 Hamburg edition of Cook's publicity magazine, of a serialised translation of an English short story, *A Trip to Egypt*, in which two young American women buy tickets to holiday romance on a Mediterranean cruise to Egypt (*Welt-Reise Zeitung* 1906).¹² (See Figures One and Two.) *Travel*, which was published by the Lunn travel agency, included Laetitia T. Meade's short story, *A Lover of the Beautiful* (1898), the heroine of which was a 'lady-like' young woman, whose trip to Rome with a Co-operative Party, rewarded her not only with romance but also a job as a travel writer.¹³

By the late nineteenth century the reader's exposure to forms of visual culture and the systems of visual representation which they embodied was an instrumental

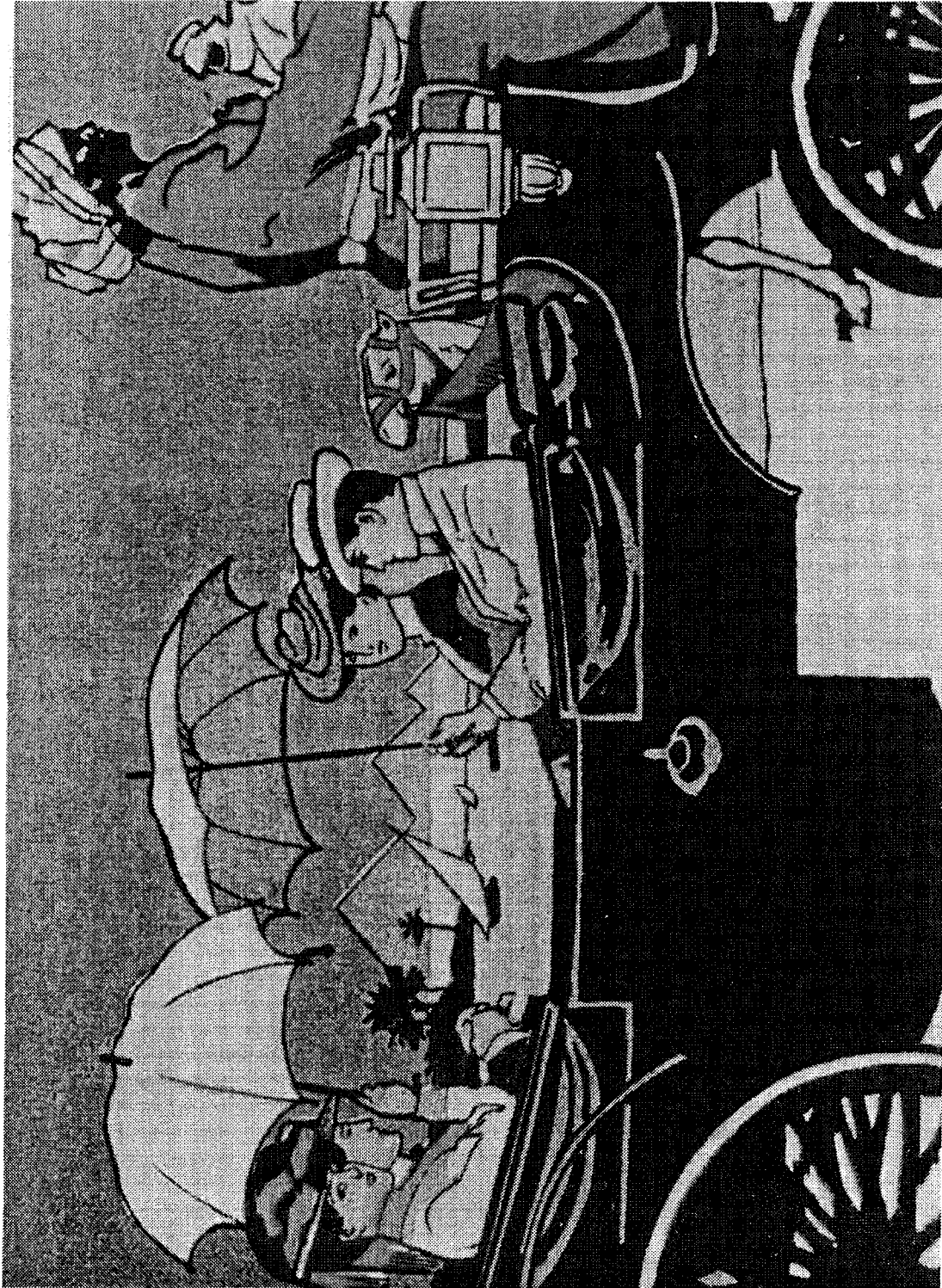


Figure 2. From Cook's *Welt-Reise-Zeitung*, Hamburg. "A proposal at the Pyramids: a romance on a Cook's Mediterranean pleasure trip" ("Ein pyramidaler Antrag: eine Liebesgeschichte auf einer Cooks Mittelmeer-Vergnügungsfahrt"). Courtesy of the Thomas Cook Archives, London.

factor in her ability to perceive the romantic foreign world of the *mise-en-scène* as an extension of her own. Most people had some acquaintance with images of popular foreign destinations such as the Alps and Venice. The sophisticated reader's 'imaging' of place was assisted by the presence of the illustrations which in the nineteenth century became an increasingly important element in popular books on travel. Illustrations in novels also familiarised readers with the look of the places they described (Sillars 1995); Eliot's historical novel, *Romola*, so much admired by Elizabeth Tuckett, for example, was one of the first fictional works to be published using photographs. Books aimed at the popular market were easily identified by the quantity and format of their illustrations. In addition dioramas, panoramas, and by the end of the century, the cinematograph, all contributed to the reader's ability to 'image' foreign destinations (Altick 1978; Musser 1991; Swartz 1994; Friedberg 1992).

The many big International trade exhibitions promoting tourism were all major tourist attractions in their own right.¹⁴ Like Imre Kiralfy's romantic production of 'Venice in London', these all drew on well-established systems of verbal and visual representation. Like the stereoscopic journeys undertaken in the privacy of the home, they, along with advertisements and other forms of graphic and photographic imagery, familiarised readers with images of foreign places. Described unfairly by James Douglas as "always a feminine vice" (Douglas 1908, cited in Staff 1979: 81), postcards were everywhere by the turn of the century. These mass-produced images, constructed and framed by pictorial and touristic conventions, played an important role in constructing and reinforcing stereotypical images of places and ideas of national and cultural identity.

By the turn of the century most authors of romantic fiction could count on their readers' ability to visualise the appropriate foreign settings without difficulty and take for granted their acquaintance with a rich vein of familiar visual stereotypes of the "foreign" and its inhabitants. This 'tacit knowledge' was used to the full by the Scottish Gerard sisters. Emily and her younger sister, Dorothea, were examples of women who were able to benefit from the general interest in travel. Educated abroad and married to officers in the Austro-Hungarian army, the sisters found themselves well placed to use the novelty of their experiences in their writings, for the multi-ethnic Empire represented a world with which few British readers were directly acquainted, although for many it conjured up the kind of stereotypical images which represented the stock-in-trade of the romantic novelist.

Recent discussion has focused on the extent to which women in the nineteenth century were able to make positional use of their writing. Maria Frawley, for example, has suggested that travel writing, unlike the field of the novel where women enjoyed lower esteem than their male colleagues, constituted a space in

which the usual hierarchical distinctions invoking gender were not strictly applied and where the expanding market meant that travel books by women could be promoted in terms of their novelty and difference (Frawley 1994). It was certainly true that in the period from the early 1880s through to the early twentieth century, when the Gerard sisters were publishing their novels and short stories, the diversification of the travelling and reading publics meant that women were able to enter the literary market-place at a number of different levels. But it was also the case that the writing and reception of travel writing were informed just as much by forms of cultural and social snobbery in which gender played a role, as by other kinds of literature. This was particularly so as the gap between the different reading publics widened in the 1880s and the growth in the market for popular literature began to far outstrip that for the more self-consciously 'literary' forms of travel writing.¹⁵

Writers like Emily Gerard who wanted their writing to be taken seriously had to find strategies which would differentiate their work from the travelogues of 'ordinary tourists'. Other women, including her sister Dorothea, found it easier and more financially rewarding to "toil on the lower slopes" (Pound 1966: 10) by writing novels or travel journalism, like Mrs Lynch who wrote regularly for *Travel*.¹⁶ The work of the Gerard sisters first appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine*. Laurel Brake has suggested that this publication used serialised romantic fiction to attract a female readership (Brake 1997: 60). The kind of colourful settings generated by the remote and exotic regions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, of which an earlier visitor, Frances Trollope wrote that "there was no country in Europe so little known and so little understood" (Trollope 1838: 138), provided the Gerards with a rich source of material with which to adorn their plots and fitted well with the general format of the magazine. Emphasising the picturesqueness of the different locations provided by the Empire, the sisters made full use of traditional Western images of the Empire as part of an imaginary Bohemia, constituting a liminal zone on the border between East and West (Tyers 1995). Familiar ethnic stereotypes abound, along with musical gypsies, passionate and languid Magyar countesses, hot-blooded, aristocratic descendants of Huns, and flaxen-haired German maidens.

A useful device was the casting of the heroines of these tales as foreigners of British or Scottish origin, which enabled the sisters to utilise their own experiences. At the same time, by positioning the heroine as some kind of tourist, the Empire could be framed as a series of tourist sights. The varied locations ranged from the romantic spa town of Herculesbad on the Romanian border in *The Waters of Hercules*, to the tourist resort of Salzburg, while the denouement of *Reata* took place in the ultimate tourist site of the Viennese World Exhibition (1873) in the exotic Egyptian pavilion. The ethnically and socially diverse company attracted to these

tourist locations permitted plentiful descriptions of colourful details while the culture of display which played such an important element in the lives of the Central European upper classes, provided the technical means by which the characters and their ensembles could be closely scrutinised. The reassuring and stereotypical language of tourism reduces any disturbance which readers might feel at being displaced from their own domestic world into the exotic and foreign world of central Europe.

Unlike her younger sister Dorothea, Emily Gerard desperately wanted recognition as a writer. Despatched to the Transylvanian town of Hermanstadt, she followed the pattern of other romantic novelists: she took advantage of her situation to construct a travel book, *The Land Beyond the Forest*. Once settled in Transylvania and finding the restricted nature of its social life more daunting than the remoteness of her location, Gerard set out to research and write the articles originally written for *Blackwood's Magazine*, the *Nineteenth Century* and the *Contemporary Review* which came to form the basis of the book. A mixture of traditional travelogue, personal reminiscence, and descriptions based on her reading of earlier travellers, the book described the customs and superstitions of the many different ethnic groups inhabiting Transylvania. Photographs reinforced the book's credibility while the traditional line engravings evoked the conventions of earlier forms of travel writing.

Visiting one of Hermanstadt's few facilities, the splendid Bruckenthal library, Gerard recalls "the curious sensation" of finding, in "this out of the way place", a German copy of the *Essay On Taste* by her grandfather, Alexander Gerard, a reminder of her family's considerable intellectual achievements and a work which contributed to the emergence of the aesthetic upon which picturesque tourism was founded.¹⁷ In Transylvania as a German-speaking foreigner, married to a Polish member of the Austro-Hungarian army, and writing in English, Gerard herself was over-determinedly foreign, her position giving many of her observations a detached sharpness. In her writing about Transylvania, a rich ethnic mix of non-historic nationalities, ruled formerly by the Turks and now by the Hungarian Magyars, Gerard was also, by virtue of her situation, doubly interpellated as a representative of an imperial power in a country where cultural and national identities were inherently problematic and increasingly contested. In *The Land of the Forest*, distancing herself from her adopted land of Austria, she lets slip the odd Scottish phrase -- 'lassies', 'bairns', 'crack' -- identifying herself with her Scottish origins and, indirectly, the 'other' colonial Empire traversed by her male relatives, all distinguished adventurers and military explorers. The author's commonsense exasperation with the ways of the bureaucratic Imperial War Ministry becomes a cultural metonym for the superior ways of her homeland.

Anne Mellor has suggested that in Romantic writing we should not look for a structural opposition between the writing of men and women but rather "an intersection along a fluid continuum", the outcome of the ideologies enmeshed in a socially constructed form of discourse (Mellor 1993: 4). The same could be said of many travel books of the late nineteenth century which, irrespective of the author's gender, were dominated by the ubiquitous codes and conventions of scenic tourism and the author's desire to be recognised as an individual voice. Many of the passages in the *Land Beyond the Forest* are typical of the way in which travel writing of the more ambitious kind was becoming more impressionistic and self-consciously personalised. Gerard aligns herself with this mode of writing by using the traditional rhetoric of the sketch to draw attention to the individuality and originality of her perceptions and at the same time protecting herself from any charge of incompleteness as she observes that "Life in an island is apt to consist entirely of foreground -- the breadth of a panorama and the comprehensiveness of a bird's eye view ... being mostly here wanting"(Gerard 1888, 1: 3).¹⁸

One way in which the personal nature of her account is however made sympathetic to readers, is in the way that Gerard registers inconsequential domestic events and details -- the problem of the broken pudding mould, a search for collectible pots, the problems of her sons' Hungarian homework, evoking the standard 'naturalisation' devices of romance writing. Here the effect is to 'domesticate' this "Robinson Crusoe" world and to turn it into one with which readers, particularly women, could relate. A similar effect is produced by the conventional language of picturesque tourism which helps to bridge the gap between the world of the reader and that of the superstitious Romanian peasantry which Gerard describes in the kind of detail that Bram Stoker found helpful for the background to Jonathan Harker's experiences in *Dracula*.

Arriving in Transylvania on a steam engine, "that destroyer of romance", Gerard is a bridge between the past and the present, hers is the nostalgic and romantic voice of the "civilised" urban tourist who craves solitude and nature and who finds in the isolated and backward region of Transylvania, a 'fairy tale land', an "enchanted garden" like the enclosed private garden which she longed in vain to be able to enter before leaving. In her writing she tries to capture the "fleeting fragrance" of its "old world-charm" floating "anywhere -- in the forests and on the mountains, in medieval churches and ruined watch towers, in mysterious caverns and in ancient gold-mines, in the songs of the people and the legends they tell" (2: 6). In the later semi-autobiographical novel, *The Foreigner*, Gerard reworked passages from the *Land Beyond the Forest* including an investigative visit to the widow of a werewolf, whose failure to be at home was a source of great disappointment to the author. This incident reappears in the context of the horseback expedition to the

Carpathians, also first encountered in the *Land Beyond the Forest* (no doubt organised by the Carpathian Tourist Society). In the *Foreigner*, high in the mountains the party encounters a fantastically dressed old woman identified by the Romanian guides as the widow, the *Prikolitsia*. Any menace immediately vanishes as Countess Riki exclaims:

What a deliciously horrible-looking old woman! ... I positively must take her photograph at once. If only she does not move while I get out my apparatus, for her attitude is simply perfect just now. (Gerard 1896: 307)

Here, the reader is suddenly made aware that even the remote Carpathians are now accessible to women tourists as the glamorous Countess proceeds to capture the likeness of the old woman in the modern way.

Despite the exotic associations of the Empire which generated the sense of 'difference' that travel writers and novelists found so appealing, they were not unproblematic. Like tourists, romance readers tend to be attracted more to the idea of 'difference' than to reality and, like a good popular travel book, the 'travel romance' needs to appeal to the reader's imagination and prevent the intrusion of too much reality in case the illusion is destroyed. The sisters' second, jointly written novel *Beggar My Neighbour*, based on their experience of Polish Galicia where Emily Gerard had begun her life as a garrison wife, received disappointing notices. In this novel the 'difference' of the location was delineated through the use of 'naturalising' detail selected more with an eye to its veracity than to its function as local colour. Describing the Polish scene the sisters attempted to show something of the singularly unromantic state of abject poverty and squalor in which many of the inhabitants lived. Margaret Oliphant, who reviewed the book for *Blackwood's* commended it for its 'realism':

The pictures of life in Poland, so carefully drawn and so evidently true, are however, the great attraction of this book. Hitherto a sort of vague 'Thaddeus of Warsaw' romance has hung about the Pole and all his ways. ... But the landscape here is perfectly distinct; the manor house is not French; the miles of dreary plain that lie in all directions, traversed by heavy roads, now deep in mud, now suffocated in dust -- the huts by the way where the villainous Jews sell *vodki*, lying in wait like hungry spiders for the peasants -- are quite new, but completely real. (Oliphant 1882: 387).

However, the liberal Mrs Oliphant took a dim view of what she regarded as the anti-Semitic tone of the book. She would have been more troubled by Dorothea

Gerard's subsequent novel, *Orthodox* (1888), in which she focused entirely on the Jews of Polish Galicia, whom she depicts as servile, scheming and mercenary. Of all the Empire's populations, it was the Eastern Jews (*Östjuden*), who symbolised most clearly for Westerners the Empire's separateness from the developed and civilised lands of the West.¹⁹ In British travelogues dealing with the Empire it was the representation of the Jews which confronted the reader mostly directly with images that conformed to the anxiety-ridden Western view of the destabilising nature of the decaying Empire's eastern provinces and their culturally backward, uncivilised and alien populations (Arata 1990: 627). When she came to write the *City of Enticement* in which glamorous fantasy played a crucial role, Gerard used an image of the Jews which was less threatening to her readers, focusing on the commercialism and vulgarity of Vienna's assimilated Jews, rather than the outlandish *Östjuden*.²⁰

By 1905, living quietly in Poland, Dorothea was constructing the background scenes in her novels in a way that was markedly different in tone from the earlier *Orthodox*. Targeting a much more popular market than the earlier novels, the *Improbable Idyll* (1905) views Polish Galicia through the eyes of a visiting woman artist as:

Just one solid mass of picturesqueness ... and peopled not by average human beings but by painter's models, just as thick as currents in a plum cake. Men in the most captivating sheepskin coats and the most adorable red frieze trousers; women in quite thrilling embroidered skirts and aprons, their necks flashing with brilliant beads, their dear little feet sticking in canary coloured boots ... and the shaggy little horses, and the golden bunches of maize under the house eaves, and the hand-painted crockery, all in such perfect patterns ... and this against the backdrop of the blue Carpathians. (Gerard, D. 1905: 5-6)

Here were all the ingredients of rural life which were proving so attractive to urban tourists: scenery, picturesque ethnicity, and hand-crafted souvenirs -- the image echoing those used by popular travel writers when writing about the Empire's holiday potential. Although the "reality" proves somewhat less than idyllic for the heroine and her family, the prosaic problems of their situation are never allowed to destroy the transfiguring nature of their 'extraordinary' and romantic environment.

The same sentimental tone was evident in *The City of Enticement* (1911) set in Vienna and written at a point when female tourists were becoming common. Dorothea explicitly positions the reader as a modern female tourist seeing the sights:

In whatever direction they turned their eyes they seemed to themselves to be looking at a big picture-book -- or rather at a cinematograph show -- in which hyper-modern and quaintly medieval figures jostled each other, and seasoned by faces of more different types of prettiness than they had hitherto even known to exist. (Gerard, D. 1911: 56).

According to Emily Gerard, her prolific younger sister who was the more successful writer of the two did not care how good or bad her books were provided that they were profitable, arguing that it paid better and gave less trouble to write mediocre novels and that her system of writing was geared up to writing rapidly and without thought for the intellectual quality of her books (Laszowska, Gerard, E, n.d.: 150). *The City of Enticement* is a classic example of a 'travel romance' explicitly positioning its heroines in a tourist fantasy.²¹ The city is described in a series of scenes identified and framed by the familiar codes and conventions of picturesque tourism. Descriptions of inconsequential details such as dressmakers running after the fashionable ladies in the street so that they can take snaps of their latest outfits give the setting an air of verisimilitude. The book emphasises the city's romantic and 'fairy tale' old world charm, its glamorous associations with royalty and the aristocracy, the colourful and picturesque nature of its inhabitants, all features of the city's touristic image (Kühnelt 1986). (See Figure 3.) The 'extraordinary' nature of the place is invoked by references to the city as "the spot where east and west shake hands" (Gerard 1911: 310). Even the love rival, a passionate Hungarian countess, personifies the traditional Western view of Vienna's liminal role as the gateway to the Orient.²²

Appearing to give the reader useful information, the book has many of the reassuring qualities of the popular guidebooks to the city (which it closely resembles) while the cast of characters, each exemplifying a different set of touristic tastes, offers the reader a choice of positions from which to experience the city and its inhabitants. A search for a hidden legacy permits the two poor but well-bred heroines to "tour" the city and visit all its main tourist sites. The ruse, whereby the elder poses as a married woman and chaperones the younger, generates much of the plot and permits the two to travel around the city with relative propriety. As modern tourists, the heroines appreciate the familiar conveniences of modern life such as the *electrisch* and street-lighting while regretting the noise of the traffic and the smell of the "new cement". A central problem for women tourists was the question of how to behave and move round in unfamiliar public places, how to gaze without being misunderstood.²³ The book positively encourages the women, traversing an unfamiliar urban space, to feel empowered and comfortable in a

strange environment. The reader of the *City of Enticement* is informed about the gendering of spaces; which coffee-houses and restaurants, for example, are permissible places for women to visit. The experience of moving through the city in an electric tram brings out the way that this makes it possible for the female tourist to stare discreetly at all and sundry. (How different from E. M. Forster's treatment of poor Lucy Honeychurch of *A Room with a View* (1908) to whom he denied the experience of the Florentine tram which she longed to board but refrained from fear that it would not be ladylike (Forster 1958: 45).) The link between spectatorship and tourism is alluded to directly in connection with Cousin Hannah's Kodak, an extension of her artist's eye, which is constantly in use, functioning as a device for identifying and framing the city as a series of "sights" suitable for use in her professional capacity as a postcard designer.

Theorists of tourism have suggested that the modern tourist not only wishes to be distinguished from other tourists but yearns to escape the everyday whilst simultaneously experiencing the 'real' life of a place.²⁴ In the book the sisters move from the position of 'outsiders' to that of 'intimates', a process most clearly established in a visit to Schönbrunn, the home of the Emperor, as privileged spectators of a social event, as 'friends' rather than 'tourists'. At the same time they come to experience the 'real life' of the city as they begin to sense that things are not what they seem. As the real nature of their glamorous hotel, a venue for 'stage experts' and fleas, is revealed, the sisters begin to be aware that beneath the seductive glamour of 'charming old Vienna' there is another city which they glimpse in an expedition to the wild part of the Prater by the Danube, frequented by tramps, vagabonds and female suicides. On the streets, encounters with dwarfs and physically deformed beggars confront the sisters with the endemic and grinding poverty of the picturesque street people. However, in the interests of romance, reality is kept firmly at bay for when the love interest, the aristocratic Baron, visits the home of a desperately poor street person -- a supposedly real place of work -- instead of the grim scene which he has been led to expect, he finds a room completely bedecked with paper flowers. The final affirmation of the sisters' intimate status is given when, just as the Baron is about to propose, the elder sister sights a lone tourist peering at a guidebook (Gerard, D. 1911: 309).

Gaye Tuchman has argued that the "feminisation of the novel" in the late nineteenth century relegated romances authored by and for women "to the realm of the sentimental, fanciful and forgettable" (Mellor 1993: 7). However the popularity of romantic fiction suggests that, unlike literary critics, its women readers did not forget. 'Travel romances', particularly those written by women, gave to their female readers a vicarious acquaintance with the pleasures of foreign travel in a context that reinforced its association with the pleasures of romantic fantasy. It is not surprising



Figure 3. Viennese flowersellers. (*Die Blumenverkaufferinnen.*) Postcard c. 1911.
Author's own collection.

that when women acquired the means and leisure they took advantage of the new opportunities for foreign travel. By the end of the Edwardian era stories written by both men and women show that, while the desire to travel abroad was still determined by the lure and thrill of 'difference', the practice of foreign tourism was generally accepted as normal and desirable by an ever widening range of social classes. The way in which promotional magazines associated with the tourist industry began to publish the kind of romantic fiction usually addressed to women suggests that the relationship between romantic fantasy and the desire to travel was well understood by the travel agents, the 'dream merchants', who were eager to acquire the custom of the emerging female tourist.

Notes

1. John Pemble writes that "It is clear that by the end of the nineteenth century women were outnumbering men among the tourists in southern Europe". He notes that women travelling without men constantly figure in the pages of Victorian and Edwardian travel writers.
2. For a discussion of the significance of travel for women in the nineteenth century see Mills (1991); see also Frawley (1994).
3. Miss Jemima wrote her memoirs for private circulation meant only for the eyes of family and friends.
4. For discussions of the growth in the different kinds of reading publics see Forrester (1980); Flint (1993); Beetham (1996); Brake (1997).
5. Some travel books were clearly aimed at young persons with the aim of providing similar encouragement. (For example, Anon, 1868.)
6. For example, Frances Elliot's series of *Idle Woman* diaries published in the 1870s and 1880s.
7. The social meaning of female accomplishments, particularly the practice and discourse of verbal and visual 'sketching' which originated in romantic tourism has

recently been discussed in relation to the shaping of gender, courtship rituals, female artistic production and as portrayed in novels. See Cherry (1993); Bermingham (1993); Ska (1998). From the 1860s positioning oneself as an 'artist' was a way of differentiating oneself from other tourists. For women it could also be used as a way of legitimising their discreet scrutiny of others.

8. Mary Cholmondley and Katherine Thurston were examples of writers who routinely used settings like Venice and the Riviera. See Cholmondley (1905-6); Thurston (1905-6).

9. For a discussion of some of the issues raised by romance reading see Modleski (1989); Krentz (1992); Fowler (1991); Illouz (1997).

10. Wendy Forrester cites a short story in the *Girl's Own Paper*, "Within Sight of Snow", which includes a description of the heroine's wardrobe for her Swiss holiday, evidently intended as a guide to other travellers. See Forrester (1980).

11. James Sully comments that, as the social bases of tourism broadened, the traditional 'milord' was relegated to the pages of romantic novels where his presence still imparted "something of the old-world glamour to their imaginary flittings across Europe. We seem to get a last glimpse of him and his fox-hunting on the Campagna in Frances Elliot's *Dairy of an Idle Woman* (1871), probably the last of the published ladies' diaries" (Sully, 1912: 64).

12. I am indebted to the Thomas Cook Archive, London for this information.

13. Miss Jemima's holiday excursion was one of many associated with the 'rational recreation' movement of the second half of the nineteenth century which gave rise to organisations such as the Toynbee Hall Travellers Club and the Co-operative Holidays Association. However, Miss Jemima was most probably a member of one of the commercial 'Co-operative' parties organised by the travel agent Henry Lunn (Pimlott 1935; Leonard 1934).

14. In Chicago Marshall Lewis promoted trips to the World's Columbian exhibition, the policy of 'everything under one roof' marking the origins of the in-store travel agent. See Lewis (1983).

15. The issue was the extent to which women enjoyed access to the male spaces of

publishing and its associated networks (Brake 1997: 69). The Gerard sisters were able to utilise long established family connections with Blackwood's.

16. Edith Wharton was an example of an ambitious writer who tried to catch the reader's attention through the rhetorical strategies which she used to write about places 'off-the-beaten track'. See Scriber (1987). "One's enjoyment of a place is ... enhanced by the pleasing spectacle of the misguided hundreds who pass it by" (Wharton 1905: 5).

17. Gerard's other famous ancestor was Archibald Alison the historian and aesthetician who also wrote on taste. See Alison (1790).

18. On the role of the panorama in colonial discourse see Mills (1991: 78).

19. Viewed from a British perspective many features of the politically backward and economically unstable Empire were disquieting. For ways in which this anxiety was registered in fictional representations of the eastern Empire see Arata (1990) and Richards (1994).

20. The publication of *Orthodox* in *Longman's* has to be seen in the context of the contemporary concern with the Jews. See Cheyette (1993).

21. The *Waters of Lethe* (1914) gives a rather different view of the city.

22. The liminal dimension of touristic travel is a subject which has been much discussed; see, for example, MacCannell (1976), while the liminal aspects of romance have been examined by Illouz (1997).

23. The implications of increased mobility for women within cities have been discussed by Walkowitz (1992).

24. For example see MacCannell (1976) but also Selywn (1994) on the search for 'authenticity'.

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The Adventures of Miss Brown, Miss Jones and Miss Robinson: tourist writing and tourist performance from 1860 to 1914

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Many a man in the epistolary age could not face the terrors of the Grand Tour, for he knew that he would be obliged to spend most of his time describing what he saw or ought to have seen... he was forced to tear himself from the scenery in order to write laborious descriptions of it to his friends at home. Now he merely buys a picture postcard at each station, scribbles on it a few words in pencil, and posts it.

This enhances the pleasures of travel.
(*Douglas 1907, cited in Staff 1978: 79*)

...for the purpose of correspondance they [postcards] are practically useless. There is so much view, there is barely room for you to write your name... they are utterly destructive of style, and give absolutely no play to the emotions.
(*G.R.Sims. 1900 cited in Carline, 1971: 57*)

Judith Adler has described travel as an art of performance (Adler 1989a: 1368), a way of 'world-making', in which the corporeal and discursive strategies adopted by the traveller moving through space from one place to another utilise the equivalent of classic aesthetic devices in the construction of the narrative through which the journey is registered and the realities it evokes for the audience whose presence is implied by the metaphor (1382–3). The audience too plays a role in the creative process in that its particular expectations constitute 'one source of explicitly

articulated standards of performance' (1378). There is nothing fixed, however, about the relationship which exists between audience and performance, for expectations of the latter may change along with the audience. Nor is there is one enduring and fixed style of performance for the way in which specific individuals interpret their role will be expressive of their individual situations and particular modes of being (Chaney 1993). This essay examines the ways in which the figure of the tourist, as it came to be represented verbally and visually in the different kinds of literature generated by modern tourism in its early days, was both expressive and constitutive of the changing expectations informing the way in which readers viewed their own practice and that of others.

Although tourism constitutes a form of travel, it has seldom been considered as an art. While recognised as a cultural practice of movement (Hetherington: 1998:117), tourists, as a species, have been relatively neglected by historians in favour of their more articulate and literary contemporaries, sometimes referred to as 'anti-tourists' (Buzard 1993: 96-7). The actual practices of the latter, however, were often almost indistinguishable from those of their despised cousins, except for the location in which they took place and the manner in which they were represented. But in an era when social distinctions were keenly felt, it is the detail that counts. During the second half of the nineteenth century changes in the social and cultural profile of British tourists travelling abroad were mapped out across a wide range of publications, which targeted reading publics increasingly differentiated by class and gender. Travel memoirs and literary essays, guidebooks, journalistic articles and the promotional literature of the travel agencies and railway companies, as well as novels and short stories using touristic settings, helped to shape their readers' attitudes to tourist travel.

Usually lacking in literary merit, these publications were distinguished from each other by the different ways in which they positioned their readers and encouraged them to engage with the experience of being a tourist and the central act of sightseeing (Adler 1989b). The authority exercised by the printed *cicerone* in touristic practices has often been commented upon, but relatively little attention has been paid to the social context in which this occurred, or to the influence of other kinds of popular literature on the formation of touristic behaviour. The evidence of the sheer volume and popularity of this

The Adventures of Miss Brown, Miss Jones & Miss Robinson...

material suggests that for many readers it performed a useful social function, particularly for those who were new to the business of foreign travel and found the whole idea rather daunting.

In the early days of modern tourism, travellers were only too well aware that its discursive practices were almost as important as sightseeing. Most tourists felt obliged to pen letters and keep journals for the benefit of family and friends. Until the last two decades of the century both activities were important elements in the strategy by which tourists sought to establish their credentials as members of the 'genteel' and 'cultivated classes'. The expensive and lengthy nature of a foreign 'tour' was not something to be undertaken lightly and this kind of record enabled individuals to justify the pleasures of a foreign trip by sharing their experiences with members of their particular social circle. The degree of seriousness with which some members of the new urban middle classes approached their task marked their adherence to the social and moral codes which differentiated them from their aristocratic and gentrified predecessors and less genteel or publicly minded contemporaries. Their belief in the educational benefits of foreign travel conceived of as a form of acculturation, a vehicle for personal and social improvement, was clearly expressed in Harriet Martineau's little guide to journal writing, *How to Observe: Morals and Manners* (1838), written for inexperienced and like-minded tourists. The author's adherence to ethnographic and utilitarian principles led her to consider the practice of recording daily impressions as the basis for the subsequent production of more generalised and truthful observations for the benefit of others (1838: 234–6).

A great deal has been made of reports of the bad behaviour of the British tourists abroad although, as Mrs Trollope pointed out, it was the few who created an image for the self-effacing many: 'the best of us cannot act as balance weight against the worst' (1842: 271–2). The frequent and slighting references to the 'herds', 'flocks' and 'droves' who descended on the Continent, courtesy of the railways, made by many contemporaries implies that they perceived the 'crowds' thronging at popular spots as undifferentiated. However, there is a case for arguing that the use of this kind of language to refer to those whose social circles and touristic behaviour diverged from the author's own was primarily rhetorical since the British were acute observers of the visual signs and emblems of social distinction (Cowling 1989). Most, observing their fellow travellers, would have easily registered differences of social standing, respectability and

individual character through observations of their physiognomy, facial expression, gestures, dress, manners and deportment. By pointing to unmannerly ways and unworthy conduct, critics were attempting to prevent the blurring of the social boundaries threatened by the new geographical mobility of those they considered socially and culturally inferior. For, as Thackeray's Lady Kicklebury observed: 'There *must* be some distinction of classes. They ought not be allowed to go everywhere' (1866: 47).

Thackeray also commented on the way that: 'We carry our nation everywhere with us; and we are in our island wherever we go. *Toto divisos orbe* – always separated from the people in the midst of who we are' (1866: 34). While the pedestrian party of jewellers and engravers touring Bohemia, whose journey was recounted in *Household Words* (1854: 34–36), were unlikely to meet with the aristocrats and members of the gentry who were to be found in the local spas, Britons abroad were usually highly visible to their fellow country men and women. Rising numbers and the conventions of sightseeing contributed to the formation of tourist zones within popular resorts, generating situations requiring the close scrutiny of the manners and behaviour of themselves and others. The fashionable foreign resorts favoured by the socially ambitious, 'Vanity Fair Abroad' as Frances Trollope dubbed them (cited in Buzard 1993: 96), created an extension of domestic arenas of sociability for displays of income and leisure (Richards 1990), marking the beginnings of a conflict between the social networks which were focusing on conspicuous consumption as a means of registering their social position, and those adhering to codes of gentility in which respect for civic position, knowledge and taste were pre-eminent and who tended to patronise a rather different kind of resort.

The 'genteel' well-to-do middle classes, often travelling abroad for the first time, found that the social difficulties they associated with the congested spaces of urban life at home were replicated by close encounters with strangers, in railway carriages and restaurants and on platforms and promenades, as well as in situations entailing sociability such as hotels, boarding houses, pump rooms and various forms of entertainments. To inexperienced travellers the Continent represented unknown territory. Coded descriptions of touristic behaviour helped to map out the social and cultural space of particular places for readers. The

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codes of etiquette structuring sociability which helped the individual members of different social and cultural networks, particularly women, to negotiate the shifting boundaries of social life and protected the exclusivity of their social circles (Curtin 1985), warned that hotels were 'places where you are always exposed to the inspection and to the remarks of strangers' and categorised 'according to the polish or coarseness of your manner' (Anon. 1879: 26).

An additional factor encouraging self-consciousness was the kind of verbal and visual comic humour which subjected tourists to the same kind of framing and distancing devices with which their guidebooks appropriated the landscape. Authors and editors seem to have regarded tourists and their habits as of almost as much interest to readers as the landscapes and indigenous life of the regions under discussion, while illustrations encouraged viewers to identify with the codes of behaviour and points of view inscribed in the text. The Swiss graphic artist, Rodolphe Töpffer, treated tourists as sights in their own right and made good-humoured fun of them in his *Voyages* (1859). The French caricaturist, Cham, adopted a sharper tone, using foreign tourism as a vehicle for political satire in his early version of a strip cartoon, *Travel Impressions of M. Boniface* (1844) (Kunzle 1990: 78–81, 377). In Britain comic representations of tourists constituted sub-genres of the satirical forms favoured by magazines like *Punch*, *Fun* and the *Man in the Moon*. The social positions of many of the writers, artists and illustrators associated with London's 'Bohemia' were sufficiently fragile to make them sensitive to the social implications of behaviours elicited by particular places and occasions (Fox 1988: 255–6). The kind of humour exemplified by Albert Smith's *Natural Histories* of 'the Idler' (1848) 'Stuck-Up People' (1848) and 'the Gent' (1847) focused on the new social 'types' appearing in British society (Cowling, 1989: 191, 196). The subjection of their representatives to accidental and incidental experiences likely to befall the unwary tourist obeying the precepts of the standard tourist round, made them seem more convincing (Kunzle 1990: 78–81 377).

Entertaining accounts of excursions across the Channel, to Paris or down the Rhine were popular with the public. One of the most well-known comic versions of the British tourist abroad is Richard Doyle's *The Foreign Tour of Messrs. Brown, Jones and Robinson* (1854). This picture narrative, inspired by the 'middle class tour' which he made down the

Rhine to Vienna and Italy, depicts the travails of an innocent and inexperienced trio originally created for *Punch* as examples of new suburban types. Brown's observant pencil creates a series of vignettes, a cross-section of tourist types whose social and cultural identities are delineated not just through the familiar iconographic conventions of physiognomy, dress and deportment, but also through their performance as 'tourists' and displays of snobbery, chauvinism and 'ungentlemanly behaviour'. The themes, popular with political caricaturists, of the strange and sinister ways of foreign powers and their bureaucratic and suspicious officials who pose unforeseen dangers to the naive traveller (Duffy 1986:42-6), are brought into play and ridiculed by incidents of the kind created by Brown's sketching activities and subsequent arrest as a spy. Humour of this kind drew heavily upon stereotypical images of national characteristics circulating in the British press. The xenophobia of British tourists was often widely remarked upon. However, as Bernard Porter has suggested, the widespread nature of the criticism implies the presence of serious tourists who did not share these attitudes (1984:414-15) which were mocked, for example, by Albert Smith in his description of the Gent's visit to Boulogne and his attachment to 'good John Bull joint, and no French kickshaws'... John Bull being generally represented as a vulgar topbooted man verging on apoplexy, with evidently, few ideas of refinement, obstinate hard-natured; but the Gent conceiveth that on occasions it is enobling to form an attachment to him'(1847: 86-7).

The persistence of this kind of humour suggests that while appealing to the snobberies and sensitivities of knowing readers, it also identified the particular kind of anxieties confronting inexperienced travellers 'who have grave apprehensions of committing themselves when encountering unfamiliar social and cultural territory and exchanging their dearly-loved haunts for other scenes and other faces' (Anon. 1879: 1). Numerous editions of *How to Travel, or Etiquette of ship, rail, coach and saddle*, and other popular books on etiquette, gave detailed accounts of how to behave in hotels ('here whispers are always overheard and glances always observed') and other public spaces' (37). *Punch* reversed the guidance usually given to tourists. 'How, When and Where? or, The Modern Tourists Guide to the Continent' advised '[A]lways *shout* your English sentences at foreigners. They are all deaf' and

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Take it for granted that everyone is trying to cheat and impose upon you. Dispute every item in every bill separately. To ensure civility and respect, see that all your portmanteaus, bags, and hat boxes be labelled MURRAY in the largest capitals (12 September 1863: 107).

Comic accounts of the misunderstandings, embarrassments and difficulties which could result from mistakes in deportment gave anxious readers valuable information. Those who shared the joke could feel satisfaction and relief in registering their understanding of the all-important behavioural codes.

A different source of information could be found in the letters and memoirs which many tourists still felt obliged to write. Elizabeth Tuckett's published memoir of her trip to Italy with a family party, *The Beaten Tracks* (1866), was distinguished by its lively and personal tone. The author used the intimacy of the 'letters home' convention as a useful device for framing the respectability of her own performance while distancing it from that of her fellow tourists, which then became a legitimate object of scrutiny in its own right. Commenting primly on the 'utterly unprincipled... utterly bad' nature of some English people, she identified different sets, 'fast, literary, fashionable, the high, low church, the sociable, the exclusive and the Americans' (1866:182). The Revd. Harry Jones addressed a different audience, less well informed and more inexperienced: *The Regular Swiss Round: in Three Trips* (1868) gave reassuring guidance on how to view the Alps in the proper manner, so that readers would not be seen to belong to the company of 'idlers and the gamblers, who travel for luxurious pleasure or evil gain' (222). Fictional versions of 'family abroad' narrative like *The Warringtons Abroad* (Anon:1866) or *Old Merry's Travel's on the Continent* (Anon.1875), aimed at the juvenile market, instructed their young readers in the conventions of foreign travel and the ways of other cultures.

'Mere rest is not true recreation', announced the author of 'Off for the Holidays' in the *Cornhill Magazine* (Clayden 1867: 320). The relaxation of middle-class attitudes to leisure meant that various pastimes of a less educative nature became acceptable as a legitimate means of recuperation from work, although for many travel was still perceived as a metaphorical vehicle of social and spiritual improvement. The image of the tourist toiling upwards in search of the ultimate panoramic view was a standard



Fig 1. 'Consulting Murray'

feature of popular travel books and few memoirs were complete without the recording of at least one such pilgrimage (see **Figure 1**). As Peter Hansen has shown, climbing itself was becoming incorporated into the codes defining masculinity and gentility for certain social groups which, in Britain, identified themselves explicitly in terms of their conduct rather than their heredity (1995: 304; Bailey 1978: 74). Members of the Alpine Club often described their activities in the kind of rhetorical language closely allied to that of imperialism (Hansen: 320). Alpinism was first brought to the attention of the British public in the 1850s by Albert Smith, who made the story of his own ascent of Mont Blanc into a

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popular spectacle, which was acceptable to the middle classes because of the way it combined entertainment with instruction (Bailey 1978). The sensitive and solitary souls who once sought the Alpine sublime were forced to seek it elsewhere as 'Piccadilly and Mont Blanc became allied, as it were, in the public mind' (cited in Hansen, 1995: 308). Accounts of the triumphs and perils of mountaineering in the illustrated press were accompanied by images of people climbing mountains (and falling off them), a subject which rapidly became a popular visual genre in its own right – it acquired a new lease of life with the appearance of the postcard, on which triumphant tourists recorded their own achievements.

Pictures of tourists set in the alpine regions, often included women engaging in various forms of recreational activities, many of them relatively strenuous. Usually present as members of family parties, they perch triumphantly on top of mountain cliffs or recline in boats punted by their swains. The relative informality stemming from the lack of facilities in some of the smaller and less developed European resorts was often part of their attraction, particularly for those wished to distance themselves from other kinds of tourists. An illustrated and humorous account of Bavaria and the Salzkammergut by the German poet Karl Stieler (translated into English for a British audience), describing family holidays in the region, gives a detailed account of how this kind of urban tourist passed the time, including rainy days (Schmid and Stieler 1874: 158–68). On sunny days 'Sketch-books are produced, and the inscriptions beneath the smudged pages reveal that they represent various aspects of the waterfall' (158). Widely regarded as a valuable adjunct to the journal, sketching was a long-established practice rooted in the ideology of the picturesque, which played such an important role in the formation of the conventions of touristic sightseeing (Andrews 1989; Sha 1998). One of the earliest images ridiculing the practice was Thomas Rowlandson's picture of *Dr Syntax* (1816) committing



Fig 2. 'Dr Syntax sketching the lake', by Thomas Rowlandson (1816).

the sublime view to his sketchbook (see **Figure 2**): professional artists on their travels delighted in representing amateurs at work. For middle and upper class women, sketching was considered an important feminine accomplishment (Bermingham 1993; Cherry 1993: 131–3, 169) and many belonged to the sketching circles which, like essay clubs, were popular in the 1860s and 1870s (Fletcher 1939: 62). For tourists, part of the attraction of sketching as an activity was the way that it licensed the discreet scrutiny of the surroundings and their inhabitants without imperilling claims to gentility and its value as weapon in the conduct of the flirtations which flourished in Continental watering places, many of which still functioned as marriage markets. Karl Stieler declared: 'Love-making is the chief occupation of tourists, it is just the time of year when a man is disposed to seal his fate, and so young ladies always play an important part during the season' (1874: 58).

Occasionally the sketches were considered sufficiently able and interesting for the author to seek publication, often anonymously. Although not noticeably gifted as an artist, but moving in literary circles, Elizabeth Tuckett was able to publish her sketching diaries, the title clearly inspired by Töpffer. *How we spent the Summer: or, a 'Voyage en Zigzag'* (1864) depicted family holidays in Switzerland and the Tyrol (her brother Francis was a prominent member of the Alpine Club). Her publisher announced that *Pictures in the Tyrol and elsewhere; from a family sketchbook* (1867) 'may prove useful to some inexperienced travellers who wish to explore parts of the Tyrol that are readily accessible and well-adapted to ladies' (1866: 312). Tuckett's vivid, if repetitive, account of the daily routines of sightseeing trips and social events, family and communal meals in Bavarian farmhouses and Florentine hotels illustrated the formal and informal rules of conduct which structured life in such places.

The arrival of 'escorted parties' (see **Figure 3**) greatly benefited women who were unable to call upon the protection of a male relative, or who lacked the kind of confidence displayed in Emily



Fig 3. 'Seeing the sights', by Phil Raven.

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Lowe's account of a trip to Norway with her mother, *Unprotected Females in Norway* (1857). The visibility of women in Cook's parties was noted by the journalist Charles Lever, when he registered his social and cultural distance from these unfortunate beings by writing a libellous critique of them for *Blackwood's Magazine* including disparaging references to their dress, manners and deportment (1865: 230–3). An angry retort from Cook was supported by testimonials from his customers who were much aggrieved by this public attack on their respectability, but, as the journalist George Sala (always a supporter) later commented, 'Mr Cook can afford to smile at his detractors. (1879–80: 1, 157). Arthur Sketchley (George Rose) took a different approach to the 'Cookists', as Sala labelled them. His Cockney monologues describing the adventures of the loquacious Mrs Brown, her husband and friends, as they travelled in the care of the 'sainted Mr Cook', drew on his first-hand experience (at Cook's invitation) recorded in a straight-forward manner in *Out for a Holiday with Cook's Excursion* (1870). Usually read as condescending middle-class commentaries on Cook's clientele, they could also be taken as glowing testimonials to the efficiency of his organisation and the satisfaction of his customers. Cook himself, in an interview with Edmund Yates for *All the Year Round* in 1864, noted that the social profile of his Swiss parties varied according to the season, ranging from 'the cockney element ...[who] carry London everywhere about them in dress, habits, and conversation, and rush back, convinced that they are great travellers' to '...the ushers and governesses, practical people from the provinces, and representatives of the better style of the London mercantile community... all travel as if impressed with the notion that they are engaged in fulfilling the wishes of a lifetime, in a pleasant duty never to be repeated' (Wilson 1951: 311–2).

The memoir of Jemima Morrell clearly identified her as a member of the latter category. Privately published and circulated, it described a three-week visit to Switzerland in 1863 (partially organised by Cook) and gave a detailed account of her trip which she found both exhilarating and empowering (Morrell 1863). Like the majority of Cook's detractors, Morrell belonged to a literate and literary culture in which writing was regarded as a primary form of communication in which people registered their perceptions of their own experiences and that of others. Presenting a positive view of his customers, Cook noted that 'they are full of

discussion among themselves, proving that they are all thoroughly well up with the subject. Many of them carry books of reference with them, and nearly all take notes' (Wilson 1951: 312). Encountering an early party of 'Excursionists' in Florence at the communal *table d'hôte*, Elizabeth Tuckett observed that the 'oddest thing is that Mr Cook himself cannot speak a word of any language but his own' (1866: 182). Tuckett's disapproval was aroused, not so much by the mixed social composition of the group, which arrived noisily in the middle of the night, as the way that the compressed and cut-price nature of the trip subjected its members to considerable discomfort and endangered their health by disregarding the conventional rhythms of the tourist season. Nor was sufficient time allowed for the proper viewing of the sights, which she considered entailed study and reflection and an examination of the city in the light of a rereading of George Eliot's *Romola*, which she compares to 'an idealised Murray; just as the city in its turn is a daily illustration for the book' (1866:105, 152).

British women formed an increasingly important sector of the tourist market. As *Etiquette for Ladies* remarked, 'the ladies go everywhere now-a-days' (Anon. 1880: 179), reflecting the middle-class perception of the tourist regions of the Continent as an extension of their own domestic space. As travel became an increasingly important element in the leisure cultures which began to emerge during this period (Cunningham 1990: 290), it became relatively common to see British women, unlike their Continental sisters, travelling unescorted by husbands, fathers or brothers (Pemble 1987: 77–8). *The Adventures of Miss Brown, Miss Jones and Miss Robinson being a History of what they Saw and Did at Biarritz and in the Pyrenees* ('Brown' 1878), a humorous version of a sketchbook album, records the travels of two young ladies and their female chaperone. The role played in the narrative by the maid and the groom is a useful reminder of the way that the experience of foreign travel was often extended to domestic servants. Changing attitudes to tourism were expressed in the way that people now travelled as much for adventure, health, recuperation and entertainment as for education. *The Adventures* depicts 'genteel' middle-class women in pursuit of culture, picturesque scenery and adventurous recreation: in the fashionable health resort of Biarritz they visit monuments, go bathing (trying to avoid tourists) and shopping, while in the scenic mountain resort of Pau they engage in more

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adventurous and physically demanding forms of activity, with an insouciance which would have been difficult to sustain at home.

In the 1880s the social basis of the leisured upper classes began to widen so that they became more fragmented. The choice of recreational activities became a central element in the mechanisms by which particular social circles differentiated themselves from each other, as the amount of a person's wealth began to be more significant than its source (Davidoff 1973). This was reflected in the way that fashionable foreign resorts and spas were increasingly differentiated from each other not just by the particular social profile and wealth of their clientele, but by the attractions and facilities they offered and the particular tastes and dispositions of their guests. The largest ones catered for guests across the social spectrum, while others tried to maintain the selectness of their clientele. The presence and habits of members of British high society, many of whom now spent much of their time abroad, were made more visible by the illustrated press which helped to turn tourist travel into yet another form of conspicuous consumption through which the socially ambitious sought to improve their position. The changes in middle-class attitudes to health and exercise were demonstrated by the increasing popularity of the 'cures' for modern life offered by Continental spas, the debilitating effects of which were faithfully reported in *Punch* (1884; 148–9), while golf and tennis soon became popular with both sexes. Near the end of the century travel journalism and agency publicity were beginning to distinguish a range of upper- and middle-class tourist types defined not just socially and economically, but as a set of touristic tastes and preferences, making it possible for individuals to express their particular mode of social and cultural being through the adoption of a specific kind of touristic *persona*. The new visual culture of consumption was expressed through illustrations and advertisements which positioned their readers as potential tourists with all the appropriate accessories.

These trends were illustrated by the magazine *Travel*, founded in the 1890s by the agent Henry Lunn, who developed his business by catering for the recreational needs and tastes of specific social groups, like ecumenically minded clergymen. In many respects Lunn's tourist parties were extensions of the voluntary and elective associations and networks which structured so many of the civic and recreational activities of upper- and middle-class life (Bailey 1978: 77–8). Like Cook's biggest rival, Henry

Gaze, Lunn consciously appealed to people's fear of uncongenial companions and their desire to travel with individuals of similar tastes and interests to themselves. According to his son Arnold, he took the view that 'the largeness of the group destroyed the cliquishness of a small group, and made eccentric and disagreeable people unimportant, since they could simply be ignored' (1940: 54). Echoing Thackeray, his son recalls that his father lost money until he:

...began to capitalise on his own instinctive prejudices against foreigners... My father exploited with genius the distinction between travellers and tourist, the traveller leaves not only England but Englishmen behind him when he crosses the Channel. The tourist changes his physical (abode) but does his best to preserve his social environment when he sets his timid foot on the Continent (1940: 110).

One of Lunn's best-known ventures was the Public Schools Alpine Sports Club, an example of the kind of mechanisms adopted by particular upper-middle-class groups to maintain the selectness of their holiday arrangements. These sporting parties recognised the same kind of informal rules and regulations as the rituals of the elite hotels, reproducing the atmosphere of a well-ordered country house, although Lunn's attempts to ban the 'bunny-hug' proved bad for business (1940:116). The Cambridge don Oscar Browning, himself a guest speaker on one of Lunn's Mediterranean cruises, recalls how he became a Hotel 'Boss' in Switzerland at an establishment he once arrived at on his tricycle:

The Hotel Boss was not elected, and he would be the last person to be asked if he would accept, but everyone knows that he is, and he knows that he must be, so the thing is done. It is a useful and indeed necessary institution. He is a Master of Ceremonies like Beau Nash at Bath. His function is to keep people together, to preserve harmony, to keep up the standard of the hotel and to take care that none is neglected or left out. Hotels of this kind may easily become undesirable places for both young men and for young women. The Boss will take care that the smoking room is not full

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of young men at mid-night, when the lights in the passage have been extinguished at an earlier hour, that there is no gambling and that the dances are orderly and respectable (1923: 36).

A very different kind of club was constituted by the men and women of the Toynbee Hall Travellers, founded in the 1880s by Canon Barnett and his wife. Although foreign travel was still primarily for the wealthy, working hours, salaries and wages had improved to the extent that it was now possible for some members of the lower middle classes to afford the cut-price rates now commercially available, while various kinds of communally based holiday clubs were beginning to take some of their members abroad. Barnett, in common with other middle-class educationalists, such those associated with the Polytechnic Touring Association, strongly believed in the educational benefits of cultural tourism (Wood 1932; Bailey 1978: 66–7). Organisations of this kind gave birth to a new generation of tourists who travelled with the desire to learn and to be emotionally and intellectually transported by the experience. The publisher, J.M. Dent, recalled the impression made on him by his first visit abroad to Florence with the Toynbee Traveller's Club:

I can never make anyone understand what the revelation of this wondrous old world meant to me. Here was a city built before industrialism had destroyed the spirit of beauty, where man lived by something other than money-making, luxury and power. A city of flowers indeed, and a city beautified by men's handicraft (1928: 52).

The travel writer Vernon Lee, who lectured to the party, took such sentiments to be the sign of the true tourist, for whom the actual sight was preceded by an act of imaginative anticipation. 'Honour the tourist; he walks in a halo of romance', unlike those for whom travel was simply an extension of their normal mode of existence in some 'metropolitan suburb' or the 'mysterious class of dwellers in obscure pensions; curious beings who migrate without seeing any change of landscape and people but only change of fare...' (1894: 311) Although Lee declared her willingness to be:

jostled in alpine valleys and Venetian canals by any number of vociferous tourists, for the sake of the one, schoolmistress, or clerk,

or artisan, or curate, who may by this means have reached at last the land east of the sun and west of the moon, the St Brandan's Isle of his or her longings (1894:307).

Others were not. His widow recalled how, stung by criticism, Barnett wrote to the *Spectator* in the party's defence, having made every effort to educate the 'Travellers' in the tourist code, by honouring them with 'one of his inimitable addresses on unselfishness in travel'. On crossing the Alps, the party was observed to be 'huddled together... everybody being too unselfish to look out of the windows in case another's view should be intercepted' (Barnett 1919, vol. I: 359).

The expansion of the press at every level made it possible for tourists who wished to register their experiences discursively to appear in print, their activities often illustrated with their own photographs or sketches. By the turn of the century the fashion for sporting holidays among the upper classes generated a rash of anecdotal articles and memoirs by men and women engaged in active sports, ranging from tobogganing to shooting. The widespread craze for bicycling made cycling tours popular with both sexes from across the social spectrum (Lightwood 1928) and created a new medium for exhibiting manly heroism. Lunn serialised John Foster Fraser's account of his cycle trip round the world in his magazine, *Travel* (1896–97), although the itineraries of his own trips were rather less adventurous. Ruskin's image of the railway traveller as 'a living parcel' (1903, vol. 8:159) summed up the feelings of many adherents of the bicycle, particularly women, who were powerfully attracted by the new sense of personal freedom and autonomy it bestowed. Similar feelings were expressed by a supporter of the fashionable motor tour. He enthused:

You can get to close quarters with a country if you travel by road, in a way that is just impossible in that archaic monstrosity the train. The railway takes you from one point to another, leaving a very imperfect impression on the mind of all that lies between. With a motor-car you can remember a journey as a connected whole: the days on the road, how delightful; the days spent in the train, how irksome and unprofitable. If you would understand anything of a country, you must see its highways and its villages;

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the railway is a cosmopolitan intruder, a barrier between the natives and the stranger within their gates. If you cannot go in a motor-car, drive; if you cannot drive, bicycle; if you cannot bicycle, walk! (Money-Coutts 1907: 338).

Irrespective of the means of transport, the possession of a guidebook was an indispensable accessory. The Austrian writer Arthur Schnitzler recalled seeing in Vienna, in the early 1880s:

a traveller walking toward me..., his red Baedeker in his hand, binoculars slung around his neck. Vienna was his home, yet Moni ...had decided to spend his eight day vacation like a genteel stranger, conscientiously seeing all the Vienna sights. I can't recall whether he had moved to a hotel for the purpose of playing his part consistently (Schnitzler 1971: 102).

Guidebooks had long been key agents in the acculturation of tourists, their itineraries and commentaries promoting and reinforcing particular ways of seeing people and places (Clark 1996) but, as more people from a wider social spectrum travelled abroad, many were reluctant or unable to follow the rigorous and austere programmes of viewing advocated by Murray and Baedeker. From the 1880s onwards the growing diversity of the tourist market was acknowledged by the appearance of different kinds of guidebooks, of which the most popular, often entitled 'How to See...', were couched in a more accessible format. Focusing on leisure and entertainment, they listed only the key sights rather than the conventional and exhaustive catalogue of monuments and art works. Some anticipated the modern theories of tourist motivation which stress the tourist's desire for an 'authentic experience', by purporting to give readers 'inside knowledge' by including illustrated sections on local life and 'types', opening up the pleasures of recognition and a fleeting sensation of intimacy. *The Pleasure Guide to Paris* (Anon. c.1905) explicitly set itself up as an alternative to more traditional or old-fashioned guides. Instead of directing tourists away from areas where prostitutes were to be found, the *Pleasure Guide* addressed readers as 'you' and invited them to view 'all that might be seen of things and places not mentioned in Baedeker or Joanne' 'in this great modern Babylon – the city of Paris'. The author warned:

By yourself it will be impossible to thread the bewildering labyrinths for fear of being lost, or from a dread of being taken captive by the sirens who lie in wait for the innocent stranger. Unaided, Paris will reveal to you none of its secrets, you will taste none of its pleasures, and finally you will return to your own dwelling place without once coming into contact with those two curious and most singular beings, *the Masculine and Feminine Parisian* (1905: v).

Authors who wished to utilise their experiences in a more literary form and who were conscious of the hierarchical relationships between genres found it difficult to distinguish themselves from their rivals in order to attract the attention of upmarket publishers and readers. Acutely aware of the way that in the literary market place, discursive style and the choice of a destination functioned as markers of social and cultural identity, they adopted the language of romantic individualism, addressing their readers as like-minded spirits who could appreciate the originality of the author's performance. James Clifford's phrase 'the writer as embodied sensorium' (1997: 53) neatly describes the strategy adopted by writers like Vernon Lee or Arthur Symonds to differentiate themselves from their less perceptive or gifted fellows expressed through the use of telling detail, casual erudition and self-reflexive allusion. The extension of the railways to eastern regions of the Habsburg Empire and the Balkans allowed enterprising writers to travel beyond the range of 'ordinary tourists' bound to the 'beaten track' by ignorance, timidity and convention. Fortunately the development of primitive forms of tourist culture in the small spas and watering places of eastern Europe allowed these intrepid souls to search for exotic and picturesque local colour in a certain degree of comfort, unless, like Lion Phillimore and her husband, they chose to sleep out under the stars in an attempt to escape the clutches of 'civilisation' (Phillimore 1912: 89). Such places constituted a rich source of material as writers regaled their readers with nostalgic images of picturesque peasant cultures as yet uncrushed by modernity. At the same time both were reminded of the fragility of the boundaries surrounding European civilisation at a time when the permanence and stability of the British empire itself seemed increasingly uncertain. Nearer to home, writers sought out places 'off the beaten track' like the

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'innumerable valleys within a few hours of one of the most frequented routes in Europe' which, as Leslie Stephen put it, 'have not yet bowed the knee to Baal, in the shape of Mr. Cook and his tourists' (1871: 47–8). Both author and reader were thus distanced from the 'common herd'. As the American writer Edith Wharton wrote, 'One's enjoyment of a place is... enhanced by the pleasing spectacle of the misguided hundreds who pass it by' (1905: 5).

Many of the places written about in this manner were not bereft of tourists, merely those of the writer's own nationality or social class. On a Tyrolean walking holiday Frank Stoddard recalled his encounter with:

pilgrims, who had come from near and far... a noisy, unwashed crowd, most of whom were provided with their own food, but drank the wine and beer of the inn, where they spent the night singing and drinking and passed the night together packed in bedrooms, or sleeping on benches in the public rooms (1912: 63-4).

British visitors to Austria invariably commented on the multiethnic nature of visitors met with in its major resorts, especially the 'bearded and ringletted Polish Jews' encountered in Marienbad, where they were differentiated from the other guests by their routines and their 'curious old-fashioned coat and long boots' (Ponsonby 1975: 228).

The expansion of the literary market-place at all levels made it possible for writers to represent their touristic experiences in fictional form. Allusions to touristic behaviours were useful for suggesting social, cultural and national differences. Stereotypes of American tourists were particularly popular as a means of highlighting 'correct' English or European behaviour, or for making fun of it. The 'artist's eye', had long been regarded as a useful literary device for examining the foreign scene. Margaret Fletcher's autobiographical novel of a young, English art student in Paris used the heroine's 'everyday' experience of the city and her observations of inconsequential details to construct a picture of an 'authentic' Paris which many tourists aspired to see 'but which their experience told them was seldom found by following the routine prescriptions of the guidebooks' (1939: 114–15). The foreign *mise-en-scène* was an invaluable device for invoking a sense of excitement and romance in their readers (Steward 1998) and, although the heroes and heroines of many of these works were usually upper class, a growing

number were not. *Travel* included a short story by L.T. Meade, a tale of a 'lady-like' young woman on a trip to Rome with a Cooperative party, which gave clear guidance about what to expect on such a trip. The heroine's competence as a tourist not only won her romance, but also a job as a travel writer (1898/99: 571–77). Tales of this kind helped to make foreign travel seem both a desirable and a normal part of life for people who now found it within their means. The suffragette Cicely Hamilton recalls 'the happiness of entering one of Cook's offices – the office that stands in Kensington High Street – and asking for two return tickets to Switzerland, two tickets I paid for with my earnings' derived from 'sensation' serials (1935: 59).

Taken for granted by the upper classes, by the end of the period, for many of the middle classes foreign travel had become a central element in the leisure cultures that contributed to the mapping out of the complex network social distinctions which comprised their world. An increasing number of travellers shared the relief of the journalist James Douglas as the arrival of the postcard marked the alleviation of one of the more onerous duties previously faced by conscientious tourists, and the figure at the postcard stand replaced that of the tourist clutching his Murray or Baedeker. That communication by postcard was now no longer regarded as 'vulgar', together with the universality of the practice, indicates one respect in which the standards defining touristic performance had changed, along with the 'audience'. During the period covered by this essay (1860–1914) representations of the tourist and touristic practices came to symbolise the shifting social boundaries of British social life. Variations in the discursive practices through which touristic travel was represented reveal the ways in which, for both readers and writers, individual interpretations of the role of tourist were both expressive and constitutive of specific forms of social and cultural identity. For tourists who denied their touristic identity, the adoption of the *persona* of 'travel writer' was yet another way in which they could express, not just their personal aspirations, but their identification with particular social and cultural networks. As an art of performance, therefore, tourist travel before the First World War was, in many ways, pre-eminently one in which its aesthetic devices and strategies evoked for its audience not so much the realities of the spaces through which the traveller moved, but those of the ones left behind.

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CHAPTER FIVE

The Potemkin city: tourist images of late imperial Vienna

Jill Steward

In 1913 the Vienna correspondent of the London *Times*, Wickham Steed, wrote, 'For forty years the Viennese have been studying how to draw a stream of foreign visitors to their city and for forty years have been astounded at their failure.'¹ Nevertheless, by the early twentieth century Vienna, capital of the Habsburg empire, was one of the most popular tourist centres in Central Europe. One reason for this was the city's function as the home of the emperor and the political and symbolic centre of the empire. The most visible signs of Vienna's imperial status were the royal residences and the monumental public buildings lying along the western section of the Ringstrasse, the wide boulevard encircling the inner city. The architect and critic Adolf Loos once commented, 'When I walk along the Ring I always get the feeling that a modern Potemkin has wanted to create, in the visitor to Vienna, the impression of a city exclusively inhabited by nobles.'² Loos compared the buildings of the Ringstrasse with the 'villages of cloth and cardboard' which General Potemkin, a favourite of Catherine the Great, had built to impress her when she visited an impoverished part of the Ukraine. The object of his sarcasm was not just the buildings themselves but the social, political and cultural world which they symbolised. The construction of the Ringstrasse in the late 1850s marked the beginning of the physical modernisation of the city, but by 1900 the social and political constitution of the empire appeared increasingly anachronistic.³ Unlike the other great European empires, whose imperial status was based upon conquest and overseas colonialism, the Habsburg empire still looked back to feudal and dynastic principles. In the early twentieth century the Habsburg lands extended through the kingdom of Hungary and the empire of Austria – the latter stretching from the Alpine lands of the Tyrol, through Lower and Upper Austria and the Crown lands of Bohemia, to Polish Galicia, parts of northern Italy and the southern Slavic lands.

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At the beginning of the early twentieth century all the qualities which contemporary tourist publicity now associates with Vienna, such as culture, gaiety and *gemütlich* charm, were already present as central elements in the city's touristic image. Guidebooks, souvenirs and the tourist publicity of the period show that the city's appeal to visitors lay as much in the splendours of its imperial past as in the modernity of its new facilities. This chapter examines the early days of the Viennese tourist industry and considers the role played by the city's imperial status in the development of its touristic image. The latter presented a parallel with the way in which the Habsburg dynasty came to be depicted in its own official 'mythology', a 'mythology' which found expression in the context of ritual celebrations that were tourist attractions in their own right. Both forms of representation helped to generate nostalgic images of the past which disguised the troubled nature of the present. One of the main causes of the empire's difficulties was the growth of nationalism in Central Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, a phenomenon which called into question the political rationale of the empire. From abroad the empire was perceived as undeveloped and politically 'difficult', a source of disquiet in the political capitals of Western Europe. Even the Imperial Austrian Exhibition, held in London in 1906 to promote Austrian trade and industry, and regarded by contemporaries as a successful exercise in public relations, failed to change traditional perceptions of the 'backward' and 'uncivilised' nature of the greater part of the empire's dominions.⁴

Imperial Vienna and the emergence of a tourist culture

The largest part of Vienna's tourist traffic came from within the Austrian lands of the empire. Although Wickham Steed attributed the lack of foreign visitors to the city's lack of soul, a more pragmatic reason was Vienna's position, well to the east of the most important European tourist routes.⁵ In the early twentieth century the number of foreign visitors still failed to match those of the other imperial tourist centres, Paris, London or Berlin. For example in 1913 there were around 100,000 visitors to the city from outside the empire, which was still only about a quarter of the number of non-French visitors to Paris.⁶ Reinforced by hundreds of thousands of visitors from within the empire, the numbers were sufficiently large to make tourism an important element of the city's economy.

Although Vienna was a well established centre for eighteenth-century grand tourists, the city's role as a modern tourist centre did not begin until the International Exhibition of 1873. The exhibition pro-

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vided an opportunity for the empire to maintain its claim to a place among the leading European powers, following military defeat two years earlier when the declaration of the German empire had spelt the end of Austrian hopes of political leadership in northern Europe. The exhibition was one of the earliest major foreign ventures of the British travel agent, Thomas Cook, but, despite bringing substantial numbers of visitors to the city, it turned out to be a financial disaster.⁷ Bad publicity flowing from Vienna's inability to cope with the needs of its visitors helped to put off the foreign crowds, while domestic tourists were discouraged by an outbreak of cholera and a major stock exchange crash.

In Central Europe the steady, if uneven, spread of modernisation and economic development and the rapid extension of the railway system were important factors in the growth of tourism.⁸ The 1873 exhibition provided an important stimulus to the provision of modern tourist facilities in Vienna so that, by the early 1880s, the city was able to accommodate steadily increasing numbers of tourists clutching their Baedekers. The appearance of tourist zones was indicated by the hotels, *pensions* and restaurants which sprang up around the main railway stations, between the Ringstrasse around the inner city and the Gürtel, which marked off the inner suburbs. The first tourist association was founded in 1882 and, in the following year, the Orient Express provided a luxurious and rapid link with the west.⁹

Vienna's imperial character was a central feature of the way visitors saw the city, irrespective of their place of origin or the purpose of their visit. The city was distinguished from the other regional capitals of the empire by its function as the residential seat of the emperor. The royal presence generated a glamour lacking elsewhere. This was evident in the way the tourist crowds gathered in the inner courtyard of the royal palace of the Hofburg to view the *Burghmusik*, the changing of the guard (Figure 12). Buildings and monuments symbolising the city's relationship with the Habsburg dynasty generated much of the touristic urban landscape. The imperial palaces, the imperial Vault, and even the Ringstrasse itself, were important tourist attractions. Begun in 1857, the Ringstrasse lay between the suburbs and the inner city, on the belt of open land which had been the site of the old fortifications. The emperor Josef II had made part of this land available for recreational purposes. The Ringstrasse project was the outcome of economic and population pressures on the inner city and the desire of the military for a means of deploying troops rapidly. Many of the open areas and buildings, such as the Votivkirche, which commemorated the emperor's escape from an assassin, the Hofburg, never fully completed, and the military parade ground of the Heldenplatz, were directly associated



Figure 12 Postcard of tourists watching the *Burgmusik*, the changing of the guard in the inner courtyard of the Hofburg, 1906

with the imperial family and constituted visible symbols of dynastic power.¹⁰ As court space these areas competed with the areas occupied by the monumental public buildings of the Rathaus, the Museums and the University, which expressed the power and values of the municipal bourgeois elites who controlled the later phases of the Ring's construction.

Many of the sights listed in the tourist guidebooks were testaments to the efforts of the Habsburgs to instil dynastic loyalty into their subjects. The formal, baroque gardens of the summer palace of Schönbrunn had been open to the public since the 1820s and were popular with tourists and Viennese alike. By the 1880s they were easily accessible by *Stadtbahn*, the new city railway, or by electric tram. The Schönbrunn gardens were excellent examples of the way in which the baroque use of space was also a representation of the principles of absolutist power. From the folly of the Gloriette, the view out over the garden led the eye along the axial pathways of the garden and its alleyways to the city beyond. As Robert Rotenberg has remarked, these vistas seemed to extend out beyond the limits of the palace grounds through the outstretched city and to connect with various landmarks marking the central points of royal power.¹¹ This 'bird's eye' view of the city was routinely included among the mandatory tourist spectacles listed by guidebooks.

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As tourism became well established literature aimed at tourists contributed to the social and spatial mapping out of tourist zones. Guidebooks and publicity material marked out specific places and spaces as tourist sights, incorporated verbal and visual images which reinforced particular ways of viewing the city and indicated the whereabouts of appropriate forms of leisure and entertainment. Visitors were told where their requirements could be met and which sights and spectacles were most worthy of attention. The most important of those within the tourist zones became recognised as commercial assets as visitors behaved in a way which was influenced by the standardising and normalising recommendations of their guidebooks.¹²

All the guidebooks to Vienna paid particular attention to the sites around the Ringstrasse associated with the high culture of art, music and drama. These were important attractions for Central European visitors, many of whom associated Vienna with bourgeois versions of the Grand Tour.¹³ The Museums, the Opera House and the Burgtheater were cultural monuments in their own right and, illuminated by the new electric lighting, they contributed to the city's image as a major cultural centre. Vienna was seen both as the home of Mozart, Beethoven and Brahms and as the site of an aristocratic way of life in which the cultivation of art and music was central. Other spaces and sights important to tourists included the city parks, the *Stadtbahn* and the electric trams, still a novelty to some Central European visitors. Begun in the 1850s, the goal of the early phase of the tramway network had been to link central Vienna with the more distant areas of the city such as the Prater and the foothills of the Vienna Woods, where the upper middle class still spent the summers.¹⁴ The old wine-growing villages of the Vienna Woods had been popular with the Viennese for weekend and evening outings since the end of the eighteenth century. This habit persisted, although by the end of the following century the inner suburbs extended out into the foothills and the largest of the remaining wine taverns were increasingly orientated towards tourism.¹⁵

On the other side of the city, the other main site of leisure and entertainment was the Prater. Opened to the public by Josef II in 1766, this open space contained lawns, paths, amusement and sporting facilities. It was much used for formally organised spectacles such as the Flower Corso and the workers' May Day parade, while the 1873 Exhibition Hall housed conferences and congresses. While in theory the Prater was open to all, in practice the social classes did not mix. Nets sealed off the grounds when musical and theatrical events took place, which were kept exclusive by the price of admission tickets.¹⁶ Humbler visitors were catered for by the Volksprater, with its public houses, snack

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bars and amusement park. The latter was the site of one of the first cinemas, and its moving landscapes soon superseded those of the traditional dioramas and stereoscopes. The giant ferris wheel, built to commemorate Franz-Josef's Jubilee in 1898, rapidly became to Vienna what the Eiffel Tower was to Paris, an instantly recognisable symbol of the city.¹⁷ An Olympic Arena, which opened in 1902, could hold 4,000 people and claimed to be the largest open air theatre in Europe. A popular success was an early version of a theme park, 'Venice in Vienna', which attracted 2 million visitors when it opened in 1895. Evoking another 'city of pleasure', a favourite honeymoon destination for the Viennese, 'Venice' also included a version of the Moulin Rouge.¹⁸ The associations conjured up by the latter were no coincidence, since prostitution was also one of the attractions of the Prater.

A long-standing element in the city's traditional place image was the pleasure-loving reputation of its inhabitants, famous as an expression of the popular culture of the working people as well as the social life of its elites. The letters and reminiscences of grand-tourists and travellers such as Lady Wortley Montagu and Mrs Frances Trollope contributed to this picture.¹⁹ Foreigners frequently commented on the way the authorities appeared to use the pleasure-loving disposition of the people to maintain their compliance.²⁰ The role played by the state in the construction of public amusements had been noted as early as 1814, when Vienna was host to the European diplomatic community during the Congress of Vienna. An observer remarked, 'That gaiety, that brilliancy, and those pleasures, were contrived more for political ends, than for the apparent purpose of rendering Vienna, for the time, the most attractive and agreeable capital in Europe.'²¹ As the city's tourist culture developed, one of the features of the city's image which most appealed to visitors was that of the 'city of pleasure' and this became more prominent in its tourist publicity.

Guidebooks were an important influence on the way visitors came to experience a strange place. By the early twentieth century the appearance of illustrated guidebooks such as the *Wiener Cicerone* and Bermann's *Illustrierter Führer durch Wien* indicated the broadening of the tourist market.²² Less austere than the famous Baedeker, they addressed a different public and used illustrations to identify the main sights so that there could be no mistakes of recognition. At the same time they encouraged visitors to see the city in a specific way, as they 'framed' the city's landscapes as aesthetic spectacles. By omitting certain areas and specifying certain itineraries, the guidebooks to Vienna helped to divert the visitor's attention from certain aspects of city life such as the prostitutes who frequented certain parts of the Gürtel and the homeless under the bridges of the new canals.²³

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One of the advantages which Vienna enjoyed over other large cities such as London was its geography. The compact old aristocratic core which lay at the heart of the main tourist zone was relatively undeveloped, apart from some luxury shops and hotels, and was insulated from social change by the parks and monuments of the Ringstrasse. Both the daily ritual of social display of the Corso promenade on the Kärtnerstrasse, and the *Fiaker* Ball of the carnival season, which had been reinvented as a commercial enterprise for tourists, reminded visitors of a happier social world and made it relatively easy for them to distance themselves from the aesthetic and social ugliness of modern urban life.²⁴ By the twentieth century tourists desired to escape from the unpleasant aspects of modern urban life but still wished to enjoy its comforts and conveniences. Unfortunately the very existence of tourists and the infrastructure required to service their needs contributed to the visible signs of modernity outside the tourist zones such as the new apartment houses, factories, and above all, the traffic which made it increasingly difficult to satisfy the tourists' desire for suitably picturesque urban landscapes. Corners of the city that remained unscathed, such as Beethoven's home in Heiligenstadt, rapidly acquired a new commercial value in the geography of Vienna's tourist culture. Typical of a certain style of vernacular architecture, the house was popular with artists and visitors alike as the embodiment of 'charming old Vienna'.²⁵ Ironically, the pressures of overcrowding and the development of the rural areas on the outskirts of the city helped to generate many of the evocative images of scenes around Vienna which were sold to tourists.

The tourist industry was an important source of income for the city's many painters and graphic artists, as well as for the commercial and amateur photographers who produced images for the postcard trade. Invented in Austria in 1869, by the early twentieth century postcards were in their Golden Age and were sold everywhere.²⁶ In Vienna the main sites of interest such as the Graben, parts of the Ringstrasse, and the inner city core, acquired new commercial significance as they, and their inhabitants, were endlessly represented. Popular images were constantly recycled, appearing first as water colours and then as postcards. Many images of the city's urban landscapes were reproduced in this form for tourists. Painted in the idealised Biedermeier style of Rudolf Alt, they minimalised the monumentality of the buildings and created a sense of intimacy with the street people.²⁷ The chestnut sellers, the gypsies, the exotic *Ostjuden* (Galician Jews) and the street musicians, all signs of the grinding poverty found in the city, seemed less threatening or alien when seen as decorative features of the urban landscape.

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In 1873, at a time when much of Vienna outside the inner core was rapidly becoming a building site, one of the exhibits at the exhibition was a *tableau vivant*, an authentically peopled recreation of the old eighteenth-century city, which foreshadowed the subsequent commercial imaging of the city.²⁸ As the city's tourist zones became commercialised the everyday life of its streets and their inhabitants were turned into self-conscious spectacles for touristic consumption, often through the lens of the ubiquitous Kodak. All this worked to reinforce the stereotypical belief in the city's *gemütlich* charm, a kind of mental cosiness, and the quality which the local press ascribed to 'true' Viennese as opposed to 'foreigners'. Like the street signs for *alten Wiener Küche*, the concept evoked a time before the building of the Ringstrasse, of 'characters' in beerhouses, wine gardens and cafés in the old villages and summer resorts which were being swallowed up by the new suburbs. The alliance of *Gemütlichkeit* and nostalgia was also present in the *Wiener Cicerone's* identification and depiction of Viennese types, a genre which was a popular subject of the documentary postcard (Figure 13). Drawing on a long tradition in Viennese literature, both nostalgic and satirical, the *Cicerone* lamented that such types were no longer as common as they used to be. The *Wiener Cicerone* included many photographs, some of which used actors (Figure 14). Posed as 'Viennese types' they were arranged as if on a stage so that the city behind them was turned into an extension of its own theatrical space.²⁹

The empire and its problems

Included amongst the Viennese sights were the representatives of the empire's diverse populations. Foreign visitors to the city invariably reported on its ethnic variety. According to the 1890 census, 65.5 per cent of Vienna's inhabitants had been born outside the city.³⁰ This was particularly evident in the case of the Jews. Western visitors to the city used the term 'Orientals' to refer not only to the Muslims of the Balkans but also to the extensive Jewish populations found throughout the empire. Western visitors were reminded of Metternich's old aphorism, that the Orient began east of the Landstrasse, and continued to think of Vienna as located on the cultural boundary between the 'civilised' west and the 'uncivilised' east.³¹ Foreign visitors were constantly struck by the conspicuously exotic and outlandish *Ostjuden*, marked out by their clothing and speech, as were the Hungarian gypsies, the Balkan Muslims and the Bohemian nursemaids.³² It was this ethnic variety which gave such a distinctive character to the city's social, cultural and culinary life. For domestic visitors this aspect of

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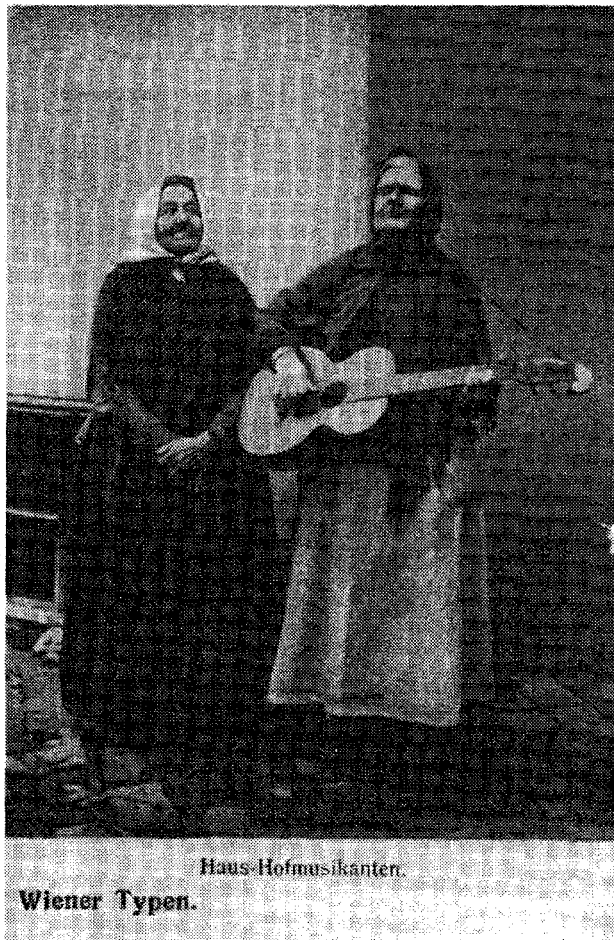


Figure 13 Postcard of Viennese types: door-to-door street musicians, 1902

Viennese life brought into play numerous and opposing images of cultural identity which were bound up with class and with ethnic, linguistic and religious affiliation.

In the early twentieth century this situation was accentuated as it became increasingly evident that the main reason for the persistence of the empire was the survival of its ruling dynasty. The rapid growth of nationalism in Central Europe, particularly among the Bohemian Czechs, the Galician Poles and the southern Slavs, was a constant source of worry to the Austrian government. The growth of national and ethnic self-consciousness posed a particular problem for the empire, which possessed no clear or dominant image of its own cultural and national identity as such.³³ The official version of Habsburg 'mythology' represented the emperor as a kind of folk hero and the empire as a 'family of nations'. In Vienna this 'myth' received specific expression in the various celebratory rituals which punctuated the emperor's reign.³⁴ The architectural showpieces along the Ringstrasse, designed to create an imperial city worthy of the name, constituted an ideal *mise-en-scène* for state events intended to impress both foreign



Figure 14 'Greetings from Vienna', 1905. A highly constructed image in which the theatrical space of the figures is superimposed on to the backdrop of a photograph of the Freyjung

and domestic visitors. Particularly memorable was the silver wedding pageant of 1878, involving 10,000 participants dressed in the costumes of Habsburg Flanders. Designed and orchestrated by the history painter Hans Makart, it depicted the benign effects of Habsburg rule on art and industry. Tourist attractions in their own right, these imperial spectacles represented the emperor as the benevolent centre of a peacefully coexisting but heterogeneous collection of picturesque ethnic groups.

Unfortunately the image of a 'family of nations' was increasingly at odds with the reality of the situation as different ethnic groups asserted their claims to their own distinctive national, linguistic and cultural identities. On the streets of Vienna the rise in national consciousness gave many of the imperial city's tourist sights a new significance. Many of the monuments listed in the guidebooks, such as the statues of Goethe and Schiller, stood for German high culture and, although of interest to German-speaking tourists, to others they symbolised German dominance in cultural matters and the control which the city's German-speaking *haute bourgeoisie* exercised over the empire's educational and administrative systems.³⁵ For many visitors the city's

imperial monuments represented an idea of empire which was perceived as increasingly irrelevant and antagonistic to their own concerns.

*Displaying the city:
the Imperial Austrian Exhibition*

By the early twentieth century tourism was beginning to make an important contribution to the Austrian economy as the Alpine and the sub-Alpine areas grew increasingly dependent on its commercial benefits. In Vienna the city's trade and tourist associations were well aware of the contribution which the industry made to the city's financial well-being and were eager to increase the number of foreign visitors. Exhibitions of all sorts were an established feature of modern urban life and, as the competition for tourists became more severe, a standard means of promoting trade and tourism.³⁶ Many of the European powers which participated in the big international exhibitions, such as Chicago (1893), Paris (1900) and St Louis (1904) put on displays which were orientated towards the justification of overseas colonialism and the demonstration of technological and racial superiority.³⁷ The Austrian 'family of nations', whose main rationale lay in the dynastic mission of the Habsburgs, fitted uneasily into this format. This only served to reinforce the empire's foreign image as a decaying presence within the complex system of European political and economic alliances. The problematic nature of the 'family' image was compounded by the increasing restiveness of the non-German nationalities, the Czechs, the Serbs and the other Slavic groups. International tensions failed to help the situation. In London the British government worried about German ambitions in the Balkans, while in Berlin the Kaiser fretted about the Prince of Wales's attempts to cultivate links between Great Britain and Austria, Germany's official ally. This led the Prince of Wales to pay a formal visit to Vienna in 1903 (including a trip round the Ringstrasse) and to have regular meetings with the emperor during his annual 'cure' at the Bohemian spa of Marienbad.

By the early twentieth century the relationship between tourism and publicity was recognised everywhere except in official Austria. Although the Austrian state provided very little financial support for their work, trade and tourist organisations were increasingly aware of the importance of publicity as a means of attracting foreign tourists. In 1906, when the exhibition impresarios Harold Hartley and Imre Kiralfy proposed a big Austrian trade exhibition, 'Austria in London', to be held at Earl's Court, Vienna's trade and tourist associations enthusiastically agreed to participate. The emperor supported the venture and

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the Austrian government agreed to contribute financially, although the bulk of the cost was to be borne by the exhibiting organisations.³⁸ London was a suitable choice for such an exhibition since many of the Austrian elite greatly admired the style and way of life of the English aristocracy and shared a mutual passion for hunting. The western provinces of Austria were popular with British tourists as increasing numbers visited their health resorts and began to abandon the beaten tourist tracks of Switzerland for the less heavily developed Tyrol.³⁹ However, the appeal of Vienna itself was still principally to the well-to-do visitor, often with personal or business connections. Benefiting from royal patronage, the proposed exhibition became the Imperial Austrian Exhibition. A large number of exhibits were directly related to tourism, one of the largest of which was a photographic journey through Austria staged by the Ministry of Railways.

The intention of J. R. Whiteley, the founder of the trade exhibitions at Earl's Court, was to give the British a 'living picture' of other nations. By this time trade exhibitions were a well established genre, many of them characterised by the construction of exotic and dream-like images. This effect was easier to achieve away from the homeland, when visitors were unable to compare the 'dream landscape' of the exhibition with the reality outside.⁴⁰ However, rather than drawing on the more unfamiliar and exotic aspects of imperial life, the Austrian exhibition focused on themes which were reassuringly familiar. Ethnic villages were common features of trade exhibitions, and one of the main exhibits at the Imperial Austrian Exhibition was a reconstruction of a Tyrolean village. This had become a well established feature of Austrian contributions to foreign trade exhibitions.⁴¹ Using elements established as attractive and successful components of Alpine tourism, the vernacular style of the village and the display of the crafts and pastimes of its inhabitants emphasised the homely, rural values of a rapidly disappearing peasant world.

By contrast with this rural idyll, Vienna was represented as a cosmopolitan city of culture, luxurious and fashionable elegance and high-class shopping facilities: an image supported by the numerous exhibits of luxury goods, arts and crafts, and the presence of major art organisations, such as the newly formed Wiener Werkstätte, the Hagenbund and the Secession. The art journal *The Studio*, which took an interest in Austrian art, contributed a Special Summer Issue.⁴² All the standard tourist sites of Vienna were represented in the display, including the Belvedere Palace, the Karl's Church, St Stephen's Church and the Franziskanerplatz. The 'life and customs of the common people, the social life of Vienna', included 'Vienna at work' in a bakery, a dairy and a sausage factory. The need for amusements and spectacles

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in trade exhibitions was provided for by 'authentic' Viennese attractions such as 'Vienna by night' and variety acts from the Prater. The effect of verisimilitude was strengthened by the presence of Bassett's Big Wheel. A whirl of social events for high society accompanied the exhibition, while visits from royalty provided photo opportunities. The strong relationship which already existed between the anglophile Austrian aristocracy and their English counterparts was undoubtedly reinforced by a party at the Savoy thrown by Arthur Krupp, the president of the committee, at which 700 guests were served by the Tyrolean villagers and allowed to choose their own wine. This dimension of the exhibition supported Vienna's traditional image as a 'city of pleasure' which was reinforced by the immense popularity of Franz Lehar's *Merry Widow* when it made its London début the following year.

By selecting the Tyrolean peasant as the representative of Austria's diverse ethnic groups the exhibition focused on an image known to be attractive to British tourists and one which firmly aligned the country with the familiar Alpine lands of the west rather than the alien, distant and undeveloped lands of the east. But even the favourable publicity received by the exhibition could not overcome the established Western view of the empire. This was not surprising, as political troubles had not been left behind. The handbook of the Bohemian section of the exhibition painted a vivid picture of Prague's tourist attractions but also set out Bohemia's claims to a separate historical and cultural identity.⁴³ An image from the *Illustrated London News* (1906), produced in its own studio, just after the close of the exhibition, vividly expressed the situation. Picturesque peasants posing as representatives of the empire's diverse ethnic communities were grouped in front of the familiar Alpine village.⁴⁴ The relatively sophisticated and modern city of Vienna was represented by three discreetly placed 'Civilised Gypsies', thus relegating the city to a location within an imaginary Bohemia.⁴⁵ The caption, 'A hard family to govern: the emperor Franz-Josef's motley empire – The extraordinary diversity of nationalities composing the Austrian-Hungarian empire', suggests that, for this section of the press at least, the associations evoked by the empire were still those of the 'uncivilised' borderlands and their unruly inhabitants.

The last days of the empire

As political power in Austria gradually began to shift away from Vienna and the Habsburg hereditary lands to the centres of the new political forces of nationalism located in the cities of Prague, Cracow, Zagreb and Lvov, Vienna's imperial role began to decline. By the early

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twentieth century the influence of nationalism was visible, not only on the social and political life of the empire, but also in the touristic behaviour of its inhabitants as Bohemian Czechs chose to holiday in the Slavic southern lands rather than in the German-speaking areas of the Tyrol and Lower Austria. In the imperial cities of Prague, Cracow and Budapest monuments of Czech, Polish and Magyar culture became increasingly important as tourist attractions.

For the jubilee of 1908 the Ringstrasse was turned into the setting for yet another pageant, in which the imagery of 'the family' and its history demonstrated the way in which the emperor's position was increasingly grounded in symbolism rather than effective power. Each successive epoch of Habsburg history was included, and each ethnic group was clad in its own national costume. The final touch was added at mid-day by the appearance of an obliging rainbow. Koloman Moser's 1908 jubilee postcard combined powerful images of the Gloriette and the palace of Schönbrunn with the head of the ageing emperor (Figure 15).

Despite the strength of Vienna's touristic image as an imperial city, the waning of the power on which its status depended, although still a source of glamour and spectacle, increasingly reminded observers that empires are subject to decay. The monumental buildings on the Ringstrasse, for all their splendour, seemed frozen in their historical fancy dress, epitomising the political stalemate which characterised

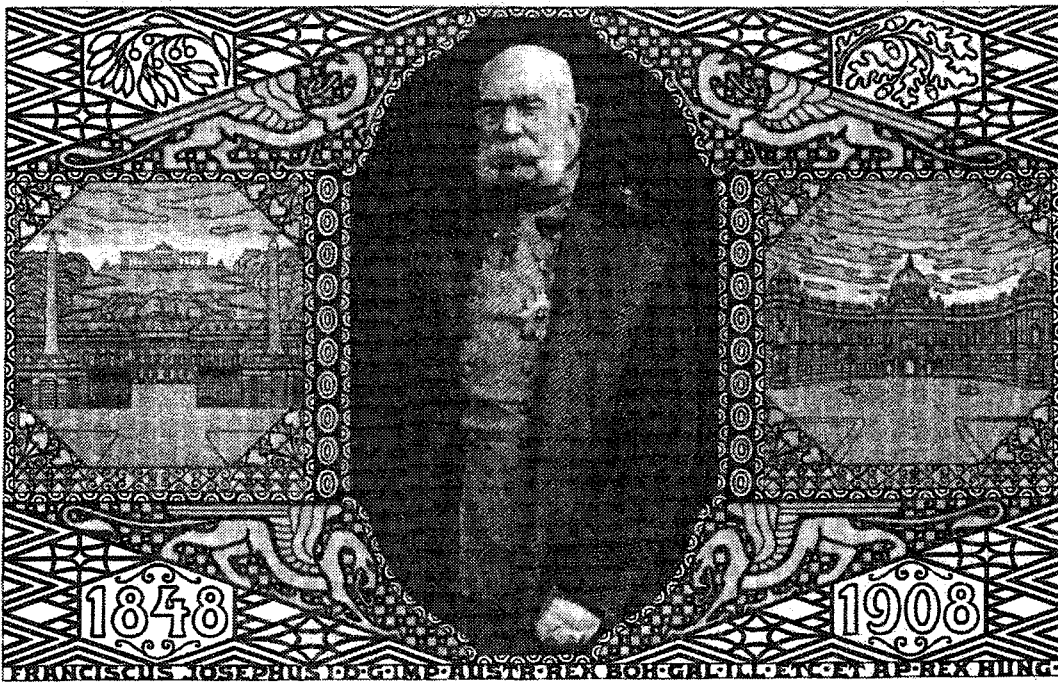


Figure 15 Koloman Moser's commemorative postcard for Franz-Josef's Diamond Jubilee, 1908

Austrian politics. On a wider front, events invariably reminded foreigners of the politically backward and troubled nature of the empire. Two years before the Austrian Imperial Exhibition, the London *Strand Magazine* had published an article on the East End of London focusing on Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. 'In Alien-land' referred to 'this foreign land which is in London but not of it'.⁴⁶ This was analogous to the way that Westerners invariably perceived similar immigrants on the streets of Vienna as symbols of the empire's political and cultural distinctiveness and its inherent alterity. For although the Austro-Hungarian empire was part of Europe, it retained its separateness, a legacy of former times. At the same time, the empire's decline evoked Western fears about the fragility of the boundary between the 'civilisation' which justified colonial imperialism and the 'barbarism' which it kept at bay.⁴⁷ In the year of the 1908 jubilee Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, an event which caused consternation in the Western press. In Britain the story in the *Illustrated London News* was copiously illustrated with pictures of wild scenery and brigand-like peasants displaying all the stereotypical features which the British press generally associated with the empire's least westernised territories.⁴⁸

The end of the First World War saw the collapse of the empire. In the inter-war period, tourism became central to the economy of an Austria much reduced in size and shorn of its troublesome eastern dominions. For most tourists at the end of the twentieth century 'Vienna' still means Habsburg Vienna. To its foreign visitors the city presents a carefully constructed image, with the complex history of spaces such as the Heldenplatz carefully neutralised. The art of the Secession, deeply unattractive to visitors to the 1908 jubilee, has become the subject of intense marketing. The 'coffee house' culture view of turn-of-the-century Vienna presents the city's artists and intellectuals as the driving force behind a 'glorious explosion' of European modernism, ignoring the way in which Vienna, an intensely conservative and antisemitic city, was abandoned by many of its more innovative artists and intellectuals. In its publicity Vienna is still imperial Vienna, the city of waltzes and *Sachertorte*.⁴⁹ The tourist zones are still almost identical with those which existed before the First World War but now include the post-imperial spectacle provided by Turkish and Balkan immigrants in the *Naschmarkt*, alongside the consciously staged heritage displays of people in eighteenth-century dress in the area around the Hofburg and the other symbolic monuments of former imperial splendour.

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Notes

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Introduction

Es soll also auf den Namen der Stadt kein besonderer Wert gelegt werden. Wie alle große Städte bestand sie aus Unregelmäßigkeit, Wechsel, Vorgehen, Nichtschritt halten, Zusammenstoßen von Dingen und Angelegenheiten, bodenlosen Punkten der Stille dazwischen, aus Bahnen und Ungebahnten, aus einem großen rhythmischen Schlag und der ewigen Verstimmung und Verschiebung aller Rhythmen gegeneinander, und glich im ganzen einer kochenden Blase, die in einem Gefäß ruht, das aus dem dauerhaften Stoff von Häusern, Gesetzen, Verordnungen und geschichtlichen Überlieferungen besteht.

Robert Musil, *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften*. 'Eine Art Einleitung', 1930.¹

The name of the city, then, is not particularly important. Like all big cities, it consisted of irregularity, change, sliding forward, falling behind, collisions of things and affairs, and fathomless silent places in between, of tracks and trackless territory, of one great rhythmic beat and the constant discord and dislocation of all rhythms against each other, and as a whole resembled a seething bubbling fluid within a vessel made of the solid stuff of buildings, laws, regulations, and historical customs.

The 'great rhythmic beat' of Musil's modern city, its 'perpetual discord and dislocation', was becoming increasingly familiar to central Europeans by the turn of the century as the tide of economic modernization swept across the continent. Existing cities had experienced historically unprecedented growth during the nineteenth century, and new ones were thrown up around them on the sites of small market towns and country villages. At the end of the eighteenth century the vast majority of people lived in the countryside, and sizeable towns were few and far between, especially in the relatively under-developed east of the region: Vienna, the largest city in central Europe at the time, had barely 200 000 inhabitants. Within a hundred years its population had increased almost tenfold and it had already been overtaken by Berlin. The Prussian capital had around 173 000 inhabitants in 1800, while the 'Greater Berlin' of the Wilhelmine empire had some three and a quarter million by 1910. Similarly, Hamburg grew from 128 000 at the end of the

Napoleonic Wars to 931 000 in 1910; Munich from 54 000 to almost 600 000; Prague from some 74 000 (within the city walls) in 1805 to some 400 000 a century or so later; and where Pest had been a small town of 29 560 in 1802, the Hungarian capital Budapest had grown to almost 900 000 by the eve of the First World War.²

The relentless and overwhelming influx of migrants into the expanding cities from a diversity of social and ethnic backgrounds generated class and racial tensions confronting politicians and policy-makers with new types of political problems. It also dramatically altered physical and mental landscapes. Urbanization posed new challenges for the architects and planners charged with constructing the built environment, and affected cultural production and consumption at all levels, from the art galleries and theatres patronized by the social elites to the bars and funfairs frequented by workers and tourists. Just as London and Paris had given rise to new kinds of writing and visual representation, so central European cities such as Berlin and Vienna now dominated the 'urban' novels of writers such as Musil, Theodor Fontane and Alfred Döblin, and became a principal theme in the work of visual artists from the Berlin caricaturist Heinrich Zille to George Grosz. Indeed, the earliest film-makers, working with the quintessentially modern medium of moving pictures, found that simple footage of local streets was often enough to draw an audience and hold its attention, and the 'city-scape' became the staple subject of popular genres such as watercolours, photographs and postcards, popular fiction and journalistic reportage which 'documented' the city.³

The documentation of urban life was also a preoccupation of contemporary academic commentators. And while the notion of cultural modernity generally, particularly in the visual arts, has been associated above all with Paris, key elements of our understanding of urban modernity in particular were formulated by early German sociologists such as Max Weber, Georg Simmel, and Ferdinand Tönnies and there was already an extensive and sophisticated literature in German on urbanization and the nature of urban society by the turn of the century.⁴ Much of this early work adopted a qualitative approach which took into account the cultural dimension of urban experience as well as other, more directly quantifiable data.

Most modern accounts of urbanization in the region have been written by German scholars dealing exclusively with Germany, and focus on the social, economic and institutional history of German cities.⁵ Works dealing with the urban cultures of the region have tended to concentrate on one or two specific cities, often addressing a particular 'episode': *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, for example; imperial or Weimar Berlin.⁶ Those works which have the broadest focus, embracing a range of cities in both Germany *and* the Habsburg empire

and its successor states, have tended to come above all from Austrian scholars and their colleagues in Prague and Budapest.⁷

It is this broad definition of central Europe which has been adopted in the present volume. Despite the well-documented rise of nationalism in the region during the early nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Germany and the Habsburg empire constituted a recognizably common cultural space, which persisted beyond the wars of German unification and the collapse of the two states in 1918. This 'cultural community' was nowhere more evident than within the towns and cities of the region. City-dwellers were inclined to look beyond the local hinterland to other urban centres in an extended network on which they relied for cultural as much as for economic or political contacts. It was not only that Viennese artists and intellectuals were, as might be expected, more closely engaged with what was happening in Berlin than in provincial Austria, but that the everyday experience of people in towns and cities was shaped by an infrastructure of urban institutions which was common to much of the region. The shared experience of urban life transcended the political and even to some extent the ethnic and linguistic boundaries which divided the region, and often ran through the cities themselves.

The essays in this collection examine aspects of the social and cultural history of the cities of central Europe from a variety of disciplinary perspectives. Despite their differences of approach and specific subject matter the individual contributions to the volume are broadly informed by an overarching theme: the shaping of modern urban culture – of modern 'urbanity' – by members of the dominant classes or other social groups, by the local or national political authorities, commercial interests, or ideological forces or political parties. These forces structured the urban environment, promoted cities as centres of culture, and regulated their societies. Finally, urban identities themselves were reinvented by means of a process of interaction and negotiation between different agents according to the specific context. This process occurred much earlier in the industrially advanced west of the region than in the east. Matthew Jefferies and Jane Pavitt discuss particular planning initiatives at different stages of this process. Matthew Jefferies's essay on Hamburg addresses a specific case of the way in which initiatives for commercial urban development in the early twentieth century raised questions about the choice of architectural forms deemed most appropriate for the expression of a modern urban society which saw itself as part of a distinctive historical tradition but which also looked to the future. The architectural critic Paul Bröcker and his collaborator, the architect Fritz Höger, intervened with some success in debates over the redevelopment of the historic centre of Hamburg, which they felt was in danger of being carried out in a tasteless and unhistorical manner as the commercial elites of the city benefited from

Germany's prosperity at the turn of the century. Dealing with a slightly later period, Jane Pavitt's essay on architectural practice in Czechoslovakia presents the adoption of the garden city concept, originally developed in England, as a form of urban planning suitable for a modern industrialized society. She shows that in the specific case of Zlín in Moravia, the Bata shoe company, a self-consciously modernizing, but at the same time socially conservative enterprise, allied a progressive attitude towards design with a reactionary, patriarchal attitude towards its workers.

Urban elites were also instrumental in promoting institutions of high culture. Robin Lenman examines the character and function of German cities as art centres in the nineteenth century. This involves the consideration of institutions and commercial practices associated with the creation of a modern art market, and particularly museums, art galleries and art academies. By 1914 Wilhelmine Germany possessed a complex and highly developed infrastructure for the promotion of art that was concomitant with the emergence of wealthy, ambitious and sophisticated middle-class elites for whom cultural consumption was an important element in their way of life. Cultural matters both for them and their rulers acquired political significance in the context of contested definitions of German national and regional identity. In the latter half of the nineteenth century the Prussian monarchy invested heavily in public cultural institutions particularly in Berlin, creating some of the city's most imposing buildings. Malcolm Gee's essay on the Berlin art world examines how different groups and individuals sought to adapt cultural practice and its institutions to the difficult conditions that prevailed after 1918. Housed, appropriately, in a redundant Hohenzollern palace, the 'new section' of the Prussian National Gallery became an important site for the promotion of modern German art as, despite economic and political difficulties, Berlin reasserted itself as a dynamic cultural centre. In the case of the visual arts key roles in this process were played by artists' exhibiting associations and commercial galleries, as well as the official institutions of the state.

Lud'a Klusáková is concerned with the development of urban centres in less developed parts of central Europe over a relatively long timescale, including the period of proto-modernization in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This essay raises the question of what the minimal conditions for the presence of an urban culture might be. These include the presence of a critical mass of population not dependent on the land, and forms of commercial activity which are registered in the physical fabric of the place, accompanied by modes of sociability characterized by regular and high levels of interaction which occur in buildings and spaces provided for the purpose (such as pubs and cafés). As we have already seen, these conditions were fulfilled much earlier and more comprehensively in the

towns of the western regions of central Europe than the east. Although at the end of the nineteenth century many of the towns in this area, including Tallinn, Riga, Kraków and Lvov, had acquired several of the features of modern urban culture such as theatres and opera houses, museums and transport and lighting systems, only Prague resembled Budapest and Vienna in possessing the dense and complex urban culture of a major city. The factors underlying these disparate rates of development were both political and economic. David Crowley examines the particular case of Kraków, a city with a privileged place in Polish national history that, as a result of partition, was a neglected backwater of the Habsburg empire relatively untouched by modernization. Crowley is concerned with the relationship between ideas about the 'stuff of buildings' and conceptions of identity and the role that artistic representation could play in both affirming and criticizing this. Through the loss of Polish national statehood, cultural practice in this part of the region took on a particular importance as it became identified as the repository of Polish heritage and of exemplars of 'Polishness'. In 1905, in the context of the return of the historic site of Wawel Hill in the city to the Polish nation, the artists associated with the 'Green Balloon' cabaret amused themselves with a series of satirical representations of competing 'visions' for the development of this national shrine – asserting, as they did so, their own affiliation with a modern, critical view of art that was essentially urban.

Life in Kraków was also characterized by another form of cultural consumption associated with modern urban life in the new centres of nationalism in central Europe: the appearance of streams of tourists gazing at its national monuments through the windows of the new electric trams as they passed on their way to Wawel Hill. Another city whose urban transport system developed as a response to the modern phenomenon of urban tourism was Vienna, by far the largest centre of tourism in Austria-Hungary. Jill Steward's essay on the growth of a specifically urban form of tourist culture in the city discusses the way in which the old city core was well suited to the modern tourist's taste for picturesque urban scenery. The influx of tourists from all over the empire helped to reinforce an experience of the city which focused on the picturesqueness, glamour and *Gemütlichkeit* of 'old Vienna'. This served to conceal many of the more disturbing aspects of the city's social and political life as its effective power as a capital began to slip away to the new regional centres of nationalism in Prague and Budapest. As in Kraków, nationalists in these cities tried to use cultural tourism as a means of establishing forms of regional, national and cultural identity.

The use of culture for socially strategic purposes, by both old and new elites, was an important feature of cultural life in all the major cities of central Europe: all forms of cultural consumption played a role in the way

in which people sought to identify themselves socially as well as politically.⁸ In the case of Vienna aristocrats were foremost among the consumers of culture for this purpose: their patronage of traditional forms of 'high' culture generated the 'culture of grace' which, as Carl Schorske has argued, provided a model for the newly enriched 'second society' in the city.⁹

The centrality of aesthetic and intellectual modernism to the culture of *fin-de-siècle* Vienna is well known.¹⁰ A major role in this development was played by the city's Jewish elites, not least as patrons of modern art and design.¹¹ Steven Beller argues that the specific form of central European urbanity that developed in Vienna was the product of a 'remarkable process of osmosis' between the traditional culture of Vienna (and, beyond that, the whole German enlightenment tradition) and educated Jews who saw the assimilation and development of those cultures as a route towards integration and self-improvement.

Cultural self-improvement – the acquisition of *Bildung* – was an important element in the approach of the Social Democratic Party in Vienna to questions of culture. Tim Kirk shows that it was not only the state authorities and cultural critics which worried about the effects of the new commercial 'mass' culture, but the representatives of the working class themselves. Party leaders in Vienna before the First World War were only too aware of the political importance of culture in reinforcing social and political authority, and sought – albeit without great success – to educate their members away from mere 'entertainment' or 'leisure' and towards more edifying and socially empowering forms of cultural consumption.

All classes of urban immigrants came because the 'big city' was a site of economic and social opportunity. However, the phenomenal growth of big cities gave rise to new problems of regulation and control, particularly in relationship to poverty. Susan Zimmerman describes the way in which attempts to deal with poverty in Vienna and Budapest around the turn of the century were 'gender-coded', and argues that the problems of poverty and female prostitution were inextricably bound together. Attempts were made to control female lifestyles by regulating the behaviour of women on the streets. The authorities wished to remove obvious signs of abject poverty from public spaces, but saw prostitution as a necessary evil that needed to be controlled through inspection, registration and zoning. For socialists, both vagrancy and prostitution were products of capitalism that would be overcome in a properly organized society. After the First World War the Social Democratic city authorities in Vienna sought to implement policies that would overcome the deficiencies of the capitalist system through welfare and shape the working class for a better future. Gerhard Melinz's essay is a study of the slow shipwreck of the project of 'Red Vienna' in the late 1920s and 1930s, as Austria experienced the impact of the world economic slump.

The growth of cities generated new forms of urban hazard which the authorities felt impelled to regulate. Urban life was profoundly affected by the development of transportation systems from the electric trams to the individual motor car. Essential prerequisites to the rapid circulation of goods and people, they added to the quality of life. Both the tourists described by David Crowley and Jill Steward, and the ordinary citizens of the new 'Grossstädte' experienced the city through the windows of trams and the new urban railway systems. But traffic made the over-crowded streets even more dangerous and difficult to negotiate. Anthony McElligott argues that the experience of traffic emerged as the 'defining paradigm' of modernity in Germany between the wars, and prompted regulatory procedures from planners and policemen. Traffic provided emblematic material for the depiction in literature and the visual arts of the quotidian rhythms of urban life, most notably in Walter Ruttmann's *Symphony of a City*. Superficially, the film evokes a chaotic experience of the modern metropolis, but underlying this are elements of control, evoked by the director's use of montage: the rhythms of the city it presents constitute in fact 'a single pulsating flow of order'.

The urban cultural environments created by modernization proved ephemeral. The socialists who had dominated the municipal politics of most of the region's major cities were swept aside by the political consequences of the depression. Vienna – the Jewish 'big city' – became a provincial town in the Third Reich. With the Cold War, the Potsdamer Platz, symbol of Berlin's modernity since the turn of the century, became a wasteland at the heart of a divided city. Sabine Jaccaud's essay, which closes this collection, examines Wim Wenders's use of the Potsdamer Platz as an emblem of the city's tragic fate in the film *Wings of Desire*. The new library adjacent to the square is a repository of the city's cultural memories embodied in the figure of the old man Homer, who 'cannot find' Potsdamer Platz in the contemporary city. The city as a whole is treated by Wenders as a 'palimpsest', a surface on which is inscribed – in buildings, streets and monuments – the myriad layers of the past. The cities of central Europe with their complex past and contested histories also form a vast cultural palimpsest recording traces of the urban experience, some of which these essays have sought to recover.

Notes

1. Robert Musil, *Gesammelte Werke*. 1. *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften*, Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1978, p.10.
2. See Renate Banik-Schweitzer, 'Berlin-Wien-Budapest. Zur Sozialräumlichen Entwicklung der drei Hauptstädte in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts' in Wilhelm Rausch (ed.), *Die Städte Mitteleuropas im 19. Jahrhundert*, Linz: Ludwig-Boltzmann-Institut für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1983, pp.139–54. Here p.140; Jürgen Reulecke, *Geschichte der Urbanisierung in Deutschland*, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1985, p.203; Jan Havránek, 'Prag in der Zeit der Industrialisierung' in Monika Glettler, Heiko Haumann and Gottfried Schramm (eds), *Zentrale Städte und ihr Umland. Wechselwirkungen*

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- während der Industrialisierungsperiode in Mitteleuropa', St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 1985, pp.98–105. Here, p.99.
3. See Peter Fritzsche, 'Vagabond in the Fugitive City: Hans Ostwald, Imperial Berlin, and the *Grossstadt-Dokumente*', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 29, 1994; and *Reading Berlin 1900*, Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1996.
 4. See above all Weber, *Die Stadt*, and Simmel, 'Die Grossstadt und das Geistesleben' in T. Peterman (ed.), *Die Grossstadt*, Dresden, 1903, and widely reproduced in English as 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' in (e.g.) Philip Kasirutz (ed.), *Metropolis. Centre and Symbol of our Times*, London: Macmillan, 1995, pp.30–45. This early literature, some of it polemically anti-urban, is widely discussed in the secondary literature. See, for example, Reulecke, *Urbanisierung*, pp.139–46; also Andrew Lees, *Cities Perceived. Urban Society in European and American thought, 1820–1940*, Manchester University Press, 1985.
 5. See, for example, Reulecke, *Urbanisierung*; and Horst Matzerath, *Urbanisierung in Preußen 1815–1914*, Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne and Mainz: Verlag W. Kohlhammer/Deutscher Gemeindeverlag, 1985; Wolfgang R. Krabbe, *Die deutsche Stadt im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Eine Einführung*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1989.
 6. See, for example, Carl E. Schorske, *Fin de Siècle Vienna. Politics and Culture*, Cambridge University Press, 1981; Helmut Gruber, *Red Vienna. Experiment in Working Class Culture, 1919–1934*, Oxford University Press, 1991; *Berlin um 1900*, Berlin: Berlinische Galerie, 1984; J. Boberg, T. Fichter and E. Gillen (eds), *Die Metropole: Industriekultur in Berlin im 20. Jahrhundert*, Munich, 1986; Charles W. Haxthausen and Heidrun Suhr (eds), *Berlin: Culture and Metropolis*, Minneapolis and Oxford: University of Minnesota Press, 1990; Peter Alter (ed.), *Im Banne der Metropolen. Berlin und London in den zwanziger Jahren*, Göttingen and Zürich: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1993; Walter Prigge, *Urbanität und Intellektualität im 20. Jahrhundert. Wien, 1900, Frankfurt, 1930, Paris, 1960*. Frankfurt and New York: Campus, 1996; John Lukacs, *Budapest 1900: a historical portrait of a city culture*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989.
 7. See above all *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas* (8 vols, 1981–7), Linz: Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung and Ludwig-Boltzmann-Institut für Stadtgeschichtsforschung. See in particular Wilhelm Rausch (ed.), *Die Städte Mitteleuropas im 19. Jahrhundert*, Linz: Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung and Ludwig-Boltzmann-Institut für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1983; and *Die Städte Mitteleuropas im 20. Jahrhundert*, Linz: Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung and Ludwig-Boltzmann-Institut für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1984.
 8. See for example Dolores L. Augustine, *Patricians and Parvenus: Wealth and High Society in Wilhelmine Germany*, Oxford: Berg, 1994.
 9. Schorske, *Fin de Siècle Vienna*.
 10. For example, Allan Janik, Robert A. Kann Memorial Lecture (1995), 'Vienna 1900 Revisited: Paradigms and Problems,' *Austrian History Yearbook* 28, 1997, 1–27.
 11. For a discussion of patronage, see Jane Wiegenstein, *Artists in a Changing Environment: the Viennese Art World 1860–1918*, PhD thesis, Indiana University, 1978.

'Gruss aus Wien': urban tourism in Austria-Hungary before the First World War

Jill Steward

Looking back to the year of 1882 Arthur Schnitzler recalled an encounter on a Viennese street:

... a traveller walking toward me on the outer Burgplatz, his red Baedeker in his hand, binoculars slung around his neck. Vienna was his home, yet Moni – which was the affectionate nickname we used rather than his more imposing real name, Solomon – had decided to spend his eight day vacation like a genteel stranger, conscientiously seeing all the Vienna sights. I can't recall whether he had moved to a hotel for the purpose of playing his part consistently.¹

Solomon was not the only tourist out on the streets seeing the Viennese sights. From the beginning of the decade the number of tourists visiting the city steadily began to increase, marking the beginnings of the industry which was to make such an important contribution to the city's economy after the First World War. Before the war when Vienna was still the symbolic and administrative centre of the Austro-Hungarian empire, it was by far the largest of all its cities and the only one with a well-developed tourist culture. This chapter will examine the formative influences on the industry in its early days before the First World War and the main features of the culture associated with it.

In the early twentieth century the rise of nationalism in the Dual Monarchy meant that the location of effective political power within the empire began to shift away from its traditional centre in Vienna towards the regional capitals of Budapest, Prague, Kraków and Lvov. Not only did the rise of nationalism indirectly influence the character of Vienna's own tourist culture but it helped to make the empire's provincial capitals into tourist centres in their own right as they became sites of regional and national pilgrimage. This essay will therefore examine briefly the way in which the two principal regional centres of the empire, Budapest and Prague, began to use tourism

as a way of registering their political and cultural independence from Vienna, although neither of them could, as yet, claim to be a centre of international tourism.

The early days of the tourist industry

The foundations of urban tourism in central Europe were laid with the building of the railway networks. The spread of economic and industrial modernization across the Habsburg lands, although uneven and concentrated in Bohemia and Moravia, contributed to the rapid growth of Vienna and subsequently to that of Prague and Budapest. The latter became the fastest growing city in central Europe after Hungary was granted its independence in 1867.² As the empire's newly prosperous middle classes gradually began to participate in European-wide practices of bourgeois leisure they began to take holidays involving excursions and outings.³ Many of central Europe's wealthier families developed a propensity to travel farther afield and to engage with various forms of commercialized cultural and recreational tourism. This tendency was encouraged by continual improvements in the roads, the water communications along the Danube and the growth of an integrated railway system which linked together all the major towns and cities in the empire. By 1895 it was possible to travel by express from Vienna to Budapest in four hours although not until the end of the century was the Hungarian railway network substantially completed.

Vienna was the focus of the empire's railway system. For many centuries it had been the largest and most important city in central Europe, host of pilgrims *en route* for the Holy Land and to Grand Tourists. Although by the late nineteenth century Vienna was by far the largest tourist centre in the empire, as a centre of foreign tourism it could not compete with Paris, London or Berlin. This was partly because of its geographical position, which was peripheral to the popular tourist regions of the western Alps and east of the routes leading from northern Europe to the warm South. In 1890, while 334 000 tourists visited the new imperial city of Berlin only 200 000 visited Vienna.⁴ Most came from imperial Germany and Russia and the rest from America, France and England. The bulk of the city's domestic tourists were from Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, with a relatively small number from Budapest.⁵

Vienna's role as the administrative and symbolic centre of the empire meant that its visitors were characterized by their social diversity, since many were there on diplomatic, military and commercial business. German tourists often included the city on their itinerary because of its past association with the Grand Tour, while others were attracted by the fame of its social and

cultural life and its luxurious shopping facilities. Many visitors from within the empire travelled there for domestic business, often staying with friends or family, while yet others were attracted to the city's medical and educational facilities. Mark Twain, one of the better known foreign visitors, stayed there for the benefit of his daughter's musical education while his wife was treated at one of the spas which sprang up on the periphery of the city.

The beginnings of Vienna's tourist industry were marked by attempts to improve the accommodation provided for visitors.⁶ In the early nineteenth century the city's resources had been severely strained by the Congress of Vienna and it was not until Vienna hosted the World Exhibition in 1873 that the first modern hotels appeared along the new Ringstrasse, the boulevard enclosing the inner city.⁷ This grand exhibition was intended to reinstate the Dual Monarchy's claims to inclusion amongst the leading European powers after its military defeat by Germany and the emergence of the new and powerful Wilhelmine empire in the north. Foreign visitors soon reported that Vienna's facilities were far inferior to those of Paris. Emily Birchall, wife of one of the exhibitors, arriving on a late train found 'no omnibus, no cab, nothing but a dainty little pair-horse brougham quite unfitted for luggage. . . . What a benighted way this seems of receiving hordes of visitors in a great city like Vienna.'⁸ High prices, the unfinished state of the exhibition and hotels, and the untrained nature of their staff led to more unfavourable comments. However Birchall found much to enjoy, including the new trams linking the exhibition site in the Prater to the city centre.⁹ The city's relationship to the modern tourist industry was confirmed when the travel agent Thomas Cook used the opportunity provided by the exhibition to incorporate the Austrian and German railways into his system when he secured exclusive concessions from the railway companies for the transport of guests and exhibitors.

The agency's high hopes for the exhibition failed to be realized as *Cooks' Excursionist* reported that 'The Exhibition opened in a muddle, there is panic on the Bourse, and our "own correspondent" of the *Daily News*' could not get 'relief to his stomach's cravings' for 'love nor money.'¹⁰ A cholera epidemic and bad reports of the actual exhibition compounded its problems. The *Art Journal* declared:

such was the intention, such the boast, to concentrate in the greatest hall the world ever saw, the most glorious collection that the imagination of man ever compassed. and how has this promise been kept? 'If you seek an answer, look around', look on every side, and then in some distant corner ruminate over the gap between the promise and the performance.¹¹

Self-interest and the magistrates brought prices down to a reasonable level but foreign visitors stayed away and the overall attendance of around 5

million visitors fell far short of the 16 million who attended the Paris exhibition. This resulted in a spectacular loss for the exhibition. It nearly bankrupted the city, and two of the three new luxury hotels were commercial failures.¹²

During the following decades, however, the number of visitors to Vienna grew steadily and although foreign tourists were still drawn mainly from the elite classes the appearance of *Pensionen*, and of guidebooks targeting a more popular audience indicated the emergence of a wider and more highly differentiated market generated by the growth in domestic tourism. Pocket guidebooks such as Hartleben's *Wien* (1893), Grieben's *Reiseführer: Budapest und Umgebung* (1905–6), Meurer's *Handy Illustrated Guide to Vienna* (1906) and Bermann's *Illustrierter Führer durch Wien* (1908) were highly illustrated and less austere than the famous Baedeker.¹³ As working conditions gradually improved domestic tourism also included the day trippers ('passing trade') from an ever-widening range of social groups who made excursions to places like the Prater. Tourists with their guidebooks became an increasingly common sight in the areas between the new Ringstrasse and the outer ring-road of the *Gürtel* and the older central core of the city. Elite visitors stayed at the luxurious Imperial or Bristol hotels, both located on the socially prestigious Kärntner Ring. Less wealthy tourists were catered for by the *Pensionen* in the neighbourhoods around the new university, the General Hospital and the numerous clinics between Alserstrasse and Währingerstrasse. The inner city, which was still lived in by aristocracy, and the newly built Ringstrasse with its open spaces and its impressive public monuments and private apartments, formed a natural and self-contained arena for touristic activities, a process reinforced by the high-class shopping facilities of the Graben, the Kohlmarkt and the Kärntnerstrasse.

The growth of a tourist culture

Vienna was the first of the empire's principal cities to experience the emergence of a commercialized tourist culture, a phenomenon which only began to appear in Budapest just before the First World War and was still barely apparent in Prague. The emergence of Vienna's tourist culture was marked not only by its new hotels and restaurants but by the publication of popular guidebooks and souvenirs, and entertainments put on specifically for tourists.¹⁴ Guidebooks were important components of the systems of verbal and visual representation which made tourist cities intelligible to their visitors. As such they were instrumental in the formation of tourist culture as they mapped out the places relevant to tourists geographically and socially and indicated where the appropriate forms of leisure and entertainment were to

be found. Highly structured by the devices and conventions of the genre, guidebooks identified lines of passage through the sights, suggesting itineraries and routes and directing visitors to places where their requirements could be met.¹⁵

Sightseeing was an activity in which all tourists participated. The standard itineraries suggested for Vienna invariably included the Imperial Palace in the inner city and the civic and state buildings along the Ringstrasse. By the early twentieth century other sights of interest to tourists included the city parks and gardens and the new *Stadtbahn* and the electric trams which were still a novelty to some visitors from the less developed parts of the empire. Many central-European visitors were attracted by the museums, opera house and *Burgtheater* which were cultural monuments in their own right and contributed to the city's image as a major cultural centre, the home of Mozart, Beethoven and Brahms and an aristocratic way of life in which the cultivation of art and music was central. The omission of certain areas from the guidebooks and the verbal and visual framing of the main sights of tourist interest contributed to the way in which visitors were encouraged to see the city as a series of picturesque and imposing urban landscapes, turning them into assets of value to the new commercialized tourist culture.¹⁶

The evolution of an urban tourist culture was assisted by the efforts of the authorities and entrepreneurs to provide the kind of facilities which their visitors considered essential. By the early twentieth century these included features which became ever-more prominent in Vienna's tourist publicity. By 1911 the authorities could boast of the city's modern utilities: hygiene, fresh drinking water and a new transport system.¹⁷ Visitors brought with them not only considerable amounts of money but their expectations of what a place had to offer. In the case of Vienna this invariably included a belief in the pleasure-loving behaviour of its inhabitants. From the end of the eighteenth century travel memoirs testify to the Viennese love of pleasure, the exuberant social life of its elite circles and the liveliness of its popular culture. The correspondent of the London *Times*, Henry Wickham Steed, believed that the city's foreign reputation for 'gaiety' really began with the Congress of Vienna in 1815, when special efforts were made to entertain the diplomatic visitors and their retinues with dancing, masked balls and other forms of pleasurable pastimes.¹⁸

The city's patterns of leisure and entertainment were ideally suited to tourism. Condemned by the puritanical Thomas Cook as 'a carnival of folly and vice' the Viennese Sunday was traditionally associated with outings and excursions to traditional places of entertainment such as the *Gasthäuser* (pubs) and the *Heurigen* (wine taverns) in the formerly outlying wine villages on the edge of the *Wienerwald*.¹⁹ The coming of the railways meant that the Viennese themselves often preferred to go further out to Mödling or Baden.

Many of their traditional places of entertainment were being swallowed up by the new suburbs, which now stretched as far as Dornbach and Neuwaldegg. In the picturesque villages of Nussdorf and Grinzing, easily accessible by tram from the tourist zone of the centre, the largest of the remaining *Heurigen* began catering specifically for foreign tourists with hot buffets, entertainments, flower and toy sellers and taxis.²⁰ Beyond them the rural countryside was turned into a protected zone, popular with tourists and residents alike as the *Verschönerungsverein* (association for the protection of rural beauty) conserved the woods and controlled and signposted the paths and walkways.

The Prater, on the opposite side of the city, was the other principal amusement centre for tourists. Once a royal park, it contained lawns, paths and sporting facilities including a race course. A legacy of the 1873 exhibition, the Rotunda housed a steady stream of conferences and congresses. While the Prater catered for all the social classes, in practice they did not mix. Baedeker described the *Nobel Prater* of the *Hauptallee* as a 'fashionable resort in spring, when many fine horses, elegant toilettes, and handsome faces will be observed.'²¹ By the early twentieth century the upper classes usually appeared only for special events such as the formal spectacle of the Flower Corso, a traditional staged ritual of aristocratic display contrasting sharply with the workers' May Day parade. Events of a musical and theatrical nature put on to entertain tourists were kept exclusive by the nets sealing off the grounds while admission by ticket placed the events beyond the means of the humbler visitors.²²

The latter were catered for by the 'Wurstelprater' containing *Gasthäuser*, snack bars and an amusement park. By the early twentieth century the amusements of former days – the panoramas, stereoscopes and other traditional entertainments such as the calf with six legs, the giant lady, and the hairy man – were superseded by mechanical flip-flops and the *Kinos*, the moving picture shows, of which there were around one hundred and fifty in the city by 1914.²³ A huge *Riesenrad*, or Ferris wheel, built to commemorate Franz Josef's Jubilee in 1898, rapidly became to Vienna what the Eiffel Tower was to Paris: its postcard image almost rivalling that of St Stephan's Cathedral in its popularity. In the English Garden a British company set up an early version of a theme park, 'Venice in Vienna' (*Venedig in Wien*), in 1895 and it attracted two million people including many day trippers, foreign tourists and members of the *mondaine* world of Vienna.²⁴ The imitation canals, gondoliers, palazzi, restaurants and theatres were particularly popular with young officers who found the imitations of French culture represented by the 'Parisiana' including a version of the 'Moulin Rouge' particularly appealing.²⁵ The associations which these conjured up were not entirely coincidental, since prostitution was a well-established feature of this par-

ticular corner of the Prater. To maintain the interest of the public, much of 'Venice' was replaced by an 'international city' while a new Olympia arena claimed to be the largest open air theatre in Europe, able to contain four thousand people.

Another indication of the new tourist culture was the proliferation of images aimed at the tourist market. The most picturesque and photogenic areas of Vienna belonged to its inner core and these, together with the monuments of the Ringstrasse, were put to a new commercial use as the subject of souvenirs aimed at tourists (see Figure 7.1).²⁶ Postcards were invented in Austria in 1869 and were sold everywhere: they were produced and retailed by many of the Viennese publishing houses such as Phillip and Kramer and the Brüder Kohn.²⁷ The work of watercolour artists such as Erwin Pendl, Ernst Graner and Francis Witt and Vienna's many commercial and amateur photographers was endlessly reproduced in postcard form.²⁸ The very presence of the postcard seller with his tray marked out a place as a tourist sight while hotels, restaurants and shops all used postcards to advertise their services. The Hotel Wimberger in the fifteenth district, conscious of the way that tourists brought into the city not only considerable amounts of income but their own social and cultural patterns, promised a 'Münchener Bierhalle' (see Figure 7.2). Even the *Wiener Werkstätte*, the purveyor of high art for a social elite, produced several thousand cards as a source of income and as a way of promoting its products. These were clearly aimed at tourists since they represented most of the sights on the standard itinerary such as the Belvedere, the Hofburg and Franziskanerplatz. The artists of the *Werkstätte* hoped that wealthy visitors might bring commissions for their luxurious art and design products. Carl Moll, the entrepreneurial force among the Secession artists, also had connections with the Gallery Mietke, which advertised in Cook's *Welt-Reise Zeitung*, the Viennese edition of the *Excursionist*, and the artist himself frequently turned out pretty images of tourist spots.

As the suburbs crept outwards and the new tenement blocks altered the appearance of familiar cityscapes, greater emphasis was placed on the more picturesque corners of the city such as Beethoven's home in Heiligenstadt. This was a version of a *Pawlotschenhaus*, a form of domestic building originating in village architecture and found only in the old village cores in the suburbs.²⁹ Sights of this kind matched the modern urban tourist's desire to escape from the more unpleasant aspects of city life visible in the industrial districts outside the tourist zones and present in the increase in noise, traffic and pollution. The more picturesque of the city's inhabitants were often included in watercolours of the urban landscape in order to create a sense of scale and to provide local colour. At the same time they became self-conscious objects of interest in their own right as various forms of the city's

social and cultural life were exploited for touristic purposes. Traditional events such as the famous *Fiakerball* of the carnival season provided visitors with examples of the 'authentic' culture of 'gay Vienna'.³⁰ Yet the character of such balls had changed. Originating in the spontaneous gatherings based upon the participants' occupations, they had become increasingly commercialized since the 1860s under the auspices of the enterprising *Fiaker-Milli*, a well-known prostitute.³¹ By 1905, under the heading of 'Popular Festivals', the Baedeker guide to the city felt the need to point out that the 'Redout' balls were now 'select' assemblies to which admission was 'invitation-card' only, a device by which the city's elites could protect their social life from intrusion by the socially undesirable, including the new type of tourist who travelled without the appropriate letters of introduction.³²

Urban guidebooks now often included sections on 'city life',³³ and the category of 'Viennese types' was a popular genre of the postcard trade covered by reproductions of picturesque watercolours as well as documentary style photographs. Many of these images were derived from repertoires of urban stereotypes well established in the Viennese Press. Hans Schliessman, for example, produced enormously popular pictures of Viennese characters and scenes from everyday life for humorous magazines like *Humoristische Blätter*, *Kikeriki* and *Fliegende Blätter*.³⁴ Encountered by tourists in postcard form, the meaning of these images lost the sharp satirical edge they acquired in the work of writers such as Eduard Pötzl, the popular feuilletonist of the *Neue Freie Presse*.³⁵ Instead, in the pages of the *Wiener Cicerone* (1907), they offered reassuring tokens of the legibility of a socially unfamiliar environment, as 'Viennese types' such as the *Pratershreiber* were helpfully identified, accompanied by little illustrations.³⁶ This particular guidebook also made use of collaged photographs, originally produced for the postcard trade, which used pictures of popular actors posing as 'Viennese types' superimposed onto background images of the city. The staged effect transformed the city into an extension of its own theatrical space (see Figure 7.3).³⁷

The impression of the theatrical nature of Viennese life was facilitated not just by the life of its coffee houses but also by the traditional rituals of self-display which were an important feature of the social life of Viennese high society.³⁸ The wealthy visitor who was fortunate enough to have a room in one of the luxury hotels overlooking the *Kärntnerstrasse* could observe the daily *corso*, or promenade, which took place between the hours of three and five and where other social groups; the upper-middle classes, the *demi-monde* and the leaders of artistic society, emulated the rituals of seeing and being seen. (A similar ritual was observable in Budapest.) Other formal social spectacles such as the Flower *corso* in the *Prater*, while expressive of a rigidly hierarchical society where the recognition and maintenance of social

distinctions still counted for so much, helped to generate the kind of social events which foreign tourists could enjoy in the belief that they were witnessing yet another authentic expression of the local culture. These events were significant not only for 'sightseers' from outside the city but also for day trippers from the suburbs. As Peter Fritzsche has pointed out in his study of Berlin, the growth in newspaper readership and the contents of the Press encouraged metropolitan dwellers to position themselves as tourists and observers of themselves.³⁹ In many cities with large immigrant populations like Vienna or Budapest excursions to see spectacles of this kind, to view new monuments, visit the Prater or the City Park, or to witness big religious processions for events no longer generally celebrated as local festivals like Corpus Christi in Vienna or the Feast of St Stephen in Budapest, could be understood as a way of becoming incorporated into the culture of the place in which they now lived.

A particularly important feature of Vienna's tourist culture was generated by its unique imperial role. As the traditional imperial *Residenzstadt* the city retained a glamour which was an important feature of its attractiveness to both foreign and domestic tourists. Performances of the palace band (*die Burgmusik*) provided a popular and much satirized form of entertainment for tourists and for locals and were the subject of one of Schliessman's most popular paintings.⁴⁰ Many of the city's monumental buildings such as the Votivkirche and the Hofburg were testaments to the Habsburgs' attempts to instil dynastic loyalty into their subjects. The gardens of Schönbrunn, the summer home of the emperor, were easily accessible by electric tram or the new *Stadtbahn*. As a place for excursions it was popular with everyone, especially with its grand menagerie and the rare spectacle of baby elephants.⁴¹ The axes and allées of the formal garden, designed in the Baroque manner, expressed the idea of imperial power as visitors looked out over the city from the decorative folly temple of the Gloriette. This mandatory bird's-eye view theatrically extended out beyond the palace and its grounds. The panoramic view of the outstretched city became a backdrop to the imperial residence while, at the same time, linking it to other important landmarks evocative of the Habsburgs' dominant presence.⁴²

Cultural tourism and the rise of nationalism

Throughout the empire there were buildings and monuments named in honour of various members of the imperial family. By the time the Emperor had cut the ribbon on Prague's new Franz-Josef bridge in 1901 tourism within the empire had acquired a new significance. The rise of nationalism made it increasingly evident that the empire was formally held together only

by its relationship to the Habsburg dynasty. The growth of national and cultural self-consciousness amongst its diverse ethnic populations meant that tourists viewed its urban monuments in ways which were mediated by their class, ethnic, linguistic, and religious affiliations.⁴³ Bohemian Czechs visiting Vienna, fighting for the recognition of their own cultural and linguistic identity, viewed the city's monuments to the heroes of German culture such as Goethe and Schiller in a very different light from the way that they were seen by the Bohemian Germans whose sense of identity, bound up with an allegiance to the Habsburgs and to German language and culture, was symbolized by the numerous monuments they erected in Bohemia to Joseph II.⁴⁴ Ethnic tensions between Czechs and Germans were not confined to Bohemia. A party of tourists from Prague visiting the Hunting Exhibition in Vienna in 1910 found themselves set upon by a group of radical German nationalists with bricks, broken bottles and bad eggs. The *Reichspost* lamented the incident as *eine Schädigung des Fremdenverkehrs* (a blow for tourism).⁴⁵

This expression of xenophobia originated in the hostility felt by many native Viennese to the economic, social and political changes which were taking place in their city where by 1890 65.5 per cent of the inhabitants had been born elsewhere – in Bohemia, Moravia and Polish Galicia. By 1910 immigration into the city had increased the population to over two million. While foreign visitors invariably commented on the cultural diversity of the city's population, the tensions between the different ethnic groups were manifested in the hostility felt towards the immigrant communities by many of the indigenous Germans and an increasing emphasis in the local Viennese Press on the distinctively *gemütlich* nature of Viennese life.⁴⁶ *Gemütlichkeit* was the quality which the local press ascribed to 'true' Viennese as opposed to 'foreigners' like the immigrant Czechs or Magyars, thereby invoking stereotypical images of 'charming old Vienna' and nostalgia for a time before the building of the Ringstrasse, an era of 'characters' in beer houses, of old wine gardens, cafés and villages all now overtaken by the new suburbs.⁴⁷ Deeply rooted among the small tradesmen and lower-middle class of the suburbs, the sentimentalized 'culture of nostalgia' came to form a central element in touristic representations of Vienna. Depictions of an 'authentic' Viennese culture, in which the peculiarities of the *Wienerisch* dialect invariably played a part, also had the effect of marking out and reinforcing awareness of the cultural differences and 'imported' ways of life of the immigrant communities of the industrial suburbs, many of whom recognized a language other than German as their primary tongue.⁴⁸ Even the gastronomic pleasures of the restaurant became culturally significant as advertisements for '*alte Wiener Küche*' or '*alte Deutschstube Cuisine*' aligned menus with a more culturally homogenous past than the culinary diverse present exemplified by the foodstuffs available in the *Naschmarkt*.

By contrast with Vienna, Budapest only acquired the status of a capital city in 1872 when it was formally constituted out of its three parts, Buda, Óbuda and Pest. However, as Hungary benefited from the *Ausgleich* of 1867 the city rapidly became the fastest growing urban centre in central Europe. The new constitution of the Dual Monarchy gave Hungary its political independence and initiated the country's rapid economic growth, stimulating the mobility of the population to the extent that by 1895 Budapest registered a total of 130 000 visitors. Prague, also a *Residenzstadt*, grew less rapidly and remained much smaller although it continued to expand. Czech nationalists felt that the Austrian government denied Prague practical recognition of its role as the historic capital of Bohemia and as the centre of the most highly industrially advanced part of the empire. Nationalists in both cities were anxious to establish their distinctive cultural identities. In Budapest this was bound up with the government's programme of Magyarization, the promulgation of measures intended to assimilate Hungary's non-Magyar populations into the culture of the dominant Magyars. In Prague the Czech nationalists actively supported and promoted Czech culture as the industrialization of the city encouraged immigration from the surrounding Czech lands, turning its German inhabitants into a minority. In both cities ethnographic and trade exhibitions played a role in establishing cultural identity through the display of national achievements.

In Budapest the Millenary Exhibition of 1896 and its accompanying festivities were intended to celebrate the occupation of the Carpathian basin by the Magyar people and were heavily bound up with the policy of Magyarization. Anxious to compete with Vienna, the government had previously set up an International Ticket Office for the State Railways with branches in Vienna and Constantinople (1884). This body was subsequently to combine the functions of tourist promotion and the role of the government's national public relations agency, all without involving any substantial funding.⁴⁹ However, for the exhibition substantial funding and promotional support was forthcoming since the government wanted to use the opportunity to divert the sympathy of foreigners from the causes of Hungary's suppressed ethnic groups. Pamphlets were published for this purpose which provoked replies in kind from oppositional groups and aggressive counter-demonstrations in Belgrade.⁵⁰ The celebrations left their mark upon the city in the form of monuments to Magyar culture, most notably public buildings, museums, bridges, the first underground railway, the Millenary Monument on Heroes Square and an exhibition hall, while Vajdahunyad Castle in the City Park, originally designed as a temporary structure for the exhibition, was rebuilt in 1907 because of its popularity.⁵¹ The disappointing attendance at the exhibition, two-thirds of which was Hungarian, made the government reluctant to provide further financial support for tourism. Nevertheless by

1900 there were about fifty hotels in Budapest near the eastern railway station and along the quaysides, the most luxurious situated in the fourth district along the Danube Corso and in the centre of the remodelled Pest although there were no modern pensions until two years later.⁵²

In Prague the growth of Czech nationalism played a key role in turning the city into a centre of regional tourism. The founder of the Bohemian Industrial Museum, the Czech patriot Vojta Náprstek, firmly believed in the role that travel and visits to significant places could play in the cultivation of a sense of history.⁵³ The most important national monument intended for this purpose was the Bohemian Museum, the outcome of the museum company founded in 1818 for the collection of works of art and other objects of Bohemian origin. A similar organization promoting Czech language and literature generated the Bohemian theatre which, when it burnt down in 1881, was immediately rebuilt by public subscription. Like the 'Czechish-Slavonic' Ethnographical Museum housed in the old Kinsky villa, the aim of the Bohemian Museum was to give the Czech community an awareness of its own cultural heritage. The museum was completed in 1891, the year that Prague was host to a trade and ethnographic exhibition which, despite some cooperation in the planning stages between the Czech and German trade associations, turned into a celebration of Czech achievements and was therefore boycotted by the Bohemian Germans.⁵⁴ The exhibition attracted over a million Czechs and Slavs from all over the empire and beyond and contributed to the growth of mass Czech national self-consciousness. Legacies of the exhibition included a scaled-down version of the Eiffel Tower, a maze and a funicular railway on Petřín Hill.

Although Vienna's tourist industry continued to expand, by the beginning of the twentieth century the city was beginning to find itself competing with the new regional tourism while the empire's rural resorts and spas were increasingly attractive to urban dwellers seeking mental and physical health in natural surroundings.⁵⁵ Partly as a response to this trend, health settlements such as Kaltenleutgeben sprang up on the outskirts of the city. In Budapest, the 'city of spas', health tourism won official support as the Hungarian government followed up earlier initiatives and began to develop the country's spas by setting up a separate Tourism and Travel Company (1902) for this purpose and an office for tourism in Budapest.⁵⁶ The latter benefited from the growth of domestic passenger traffic on the expanded and nationalized railways as newly prosperous Hungarians took advantage of the modern facilities of their own capital rather than travelling to Vienna, from which they felt increasingly alienated politically. By the early twentieth century many of Budapest's spas had been redeveloped, either privately or by the municipal authorities which now owned them. The Lukásbad spa, for example, was redeveloped by a public company which built a new hotel

and modernized its facilities.⁵⁷ One of the best known of the city's health and pleasure resorts was Margaret Island in the middle of the Danube. This park, with its gardens, spa and cafeteria, was enormously popular with the elite classes who could afford the price of admission. Its owner, the Archduke Joseph, had developed it in the 1870s, equipping it with modern baths and a hotel. In 1900 the Ministry of Commerce helped to fund the building of a bridge linking the island to the river bank, making it easily accessible. In 1908 the city authorities bought the island for further development although the price of admission continued to exclude the poor.⁵⁸ The city authorities were also responsible for the building and development of the new Gellért bath with its attached hotel specifically for tourists.

Throughout the more highly developed parts of the empire, the regulatory and promotional roles assumed by its trade and tourist associations indicated that they understood the commercial potential of tourism and the importance of publicity. This was particularly true in Vienna where these organizations were extremely active. Such financial support as there was for tourism in Austria and Hungary came, not from the governments, but from municipal and regional authorities and the railway companies. In Austria the Ministry of Railways (founded in 1896), which was responsible for publicity and timetables, provided the only direct state support for tourism, setting up information and travel bureaux including one in London (1902), followed by others in New York, Paris and Berlin.⁵⁹ Approached by exhibition organizers from London with a view to setting up a big Austrian trade and tourism exhibition in 1906, the Viennese associations eagerly agreed to participate and to contribute the bulk of their own costs.⁶⁰

A similar attitude was adopted by Prague City Council which helped to sponsor the Bohemian section of the exhibition. This was organized by Count Franz Lützow, a fervent Czech nationalist who was eager to attract influential and sympathetic visitors to Prague. Formerly an attaché to the Austrian embassy in London, Lützow had previously written an English guidebook to Prague, a history of the city and its principal monuments.⁶¹ The exhibition handbook extolled the picturesqueness of 'Old Prague', its castles, views and quaint old streets like Golden Lane, whilst clearly setting out Bohemia's claims to a separate historical and cultural identity. The authors complained that under Austrian rule the life of Prague as 'a residential town has vanished and with it the influx of foreign guests'. They criticized the traditional western habit of associating Bohemia with the 'uncivilized' Slavonian tribes of the east while emphasizing the region's links with the Hussites, evidently hoping that the sympathy of Protestant tourists might prove politically helpful.⁶²

In 1908 a similar exhibition was put on in Hungary. Initial difficulties were caused by the passive opposition of the Minister of Commerce, despite the

fact that Britain was one of Hungary's main trading partners. Unfortunately, although the exhibition attracted 1 293 989 visitors, Hungary was not yet included in Cook's system, so that most western tourists continued to think of Budapest as remote and inaccessible.⁶³ By 1912 the situation was improving as the beauties of Hungary were heavily promoted in the Viennese version of the *Excursionist*, and the number of visitors to Budapest had doubled to around 250 000, although only 15–35 000 of these were foreign.⁶⁴

Within the empire, as the rationale underpinning the union of the different linguistic and ethnic communities became increasingly anachronistic, tourism became a useful vehicle for Habsburg myth-making. The presence of domestic and foreign spectators was essential to the success of the carefully staged events which constituted the various Jubilee celebrations punctuating the Emperor's lengthy reign. These displays presented Franz Joseph as a kind of folk hero, father of the Habsburg 'family of nations'.⁶⁵ The broad new streets of Pest and the wide boulevards of the Viennese Ringstrasse provided perfect settings for theatrical displays of imperial splendour, one of the most spectacular of which was undoubtedly the hugely expensive and lengthy Viennese pageant celebrating the Emperor's silver wedding in 1879. Designed by Makart, the history painter, 10 000 or so participants dressed in the costumes of Habsburg Flanders depicted the benign effects of the Habsburg reign on art and industry.⁶⁶ By the 1908 Jubilee the rise of nationalism led to a change of theme as deputations from each province trooped along the Ringstrasse. Dressed in their own national costume, they represented the complete range of ethnic communities while the indefatigable Emperor saluted for three hours. The Habsburgs had long used printed images for propaganda purposes and they now found a new outlet in the tourist souvenirs produced for these events.⁶⁷ One of the most popular was the Jubilee postcard, designed by Koloman Moser for the *Staatsdruckerei* in 1908.

By the end of the decade Vienna had developed all the features of a modern tourist culture and events such as the civic visit from the Lord Mayor of London promoted Vienna as a 'model city, a hive of industry and a place of pleasure', with nearby winter sports, and luxurious shopping.⁶⁸ New attractions such as a Viennese Music Week raised the total of foreign visitors to over 100 000, 20 per cent of all visitors.⁶⁹ However, the numbers of foreign tourists still fell short of the numbers attracted to Berlin or Paris. Wickham Steed commented that, 'for forty years the Viennese have been studying how to draw a stream of foreign visitors to their city and for forty years have been astounded at their failure.'⁷⁰ Yet before the First World War the industry was making a substantial contribution to the city's economy. Foreign tourists spent around ten crowns on board and lodging and twelve crowns on other forms of spending, including pleasure, so that the 500 000

foreigners who visited the city for an average of three days contributed to a total of around 20–25 million crowns per annum. In addition to this there was the income from domestic tourism.⁷¹

Ilsa Barea writes that the 'local colour' of the popular songs which told the Viennese that they and their city were 'unique, marvellous and extremely lovable was as truthful as the chromo-lithographs of that time.'⁷² Before the First World War Vienna's tourist culture came to depend heavily on the naturalized and indigenous myth of 'old Vienna' which masked the tensions of modern Viennese life and which reduced the city's cultural identity to the elements of nostalgia, royal glamour, gaiety and *Gemütlichkeit*, a 'fairytale' as one work of romantic fiction set in the city described it.⁷³ Wickham Steed described the air of unreality which pervaded Vienna, which he attributed partly to the success of the old Habsburg stratagem of 'diversion' by amusement.⁷⁴ Of the Viennese he said:

They enumerate the attractions of Vienna, the multiplicity of its pleasures, the beauty of its monuments and the charm of its natural surroundings; but they forget that for a capital to act as a magnet upon strangers it must have a soul of its own with which the stranger can secretly commune. Both Vienna and 'the Viennese' are soulless or, at least, their 'souls' are so much in abeyance that neither thrills the thoughtful stranger with that inward satisfaction that moves the heart.⁷⁵

It was not surprising therefore that foreign visitors who penetrated beyond the staged myth of 'old Vienna' were bound to find something disturbing in the back regions, making unfavourable associations between the pleasure-seeking ways of its inhabitants, the signs of imperial decay and ethnic nationalism. For as Vienna's imperial power slipped away to the peripheral regions of the empire, to the regional and national centres like Prague and Budapest where many of the principal tourist sights were associated with national hopes for the future, their Viennese equivalents appeared to be associated only with the past. In a city whose public monuments constantly reminded viewers that cultural identity was a controversial and contested issue the demand for a 'Viennese soul' was itself a demand for the realization of a tourist myth.

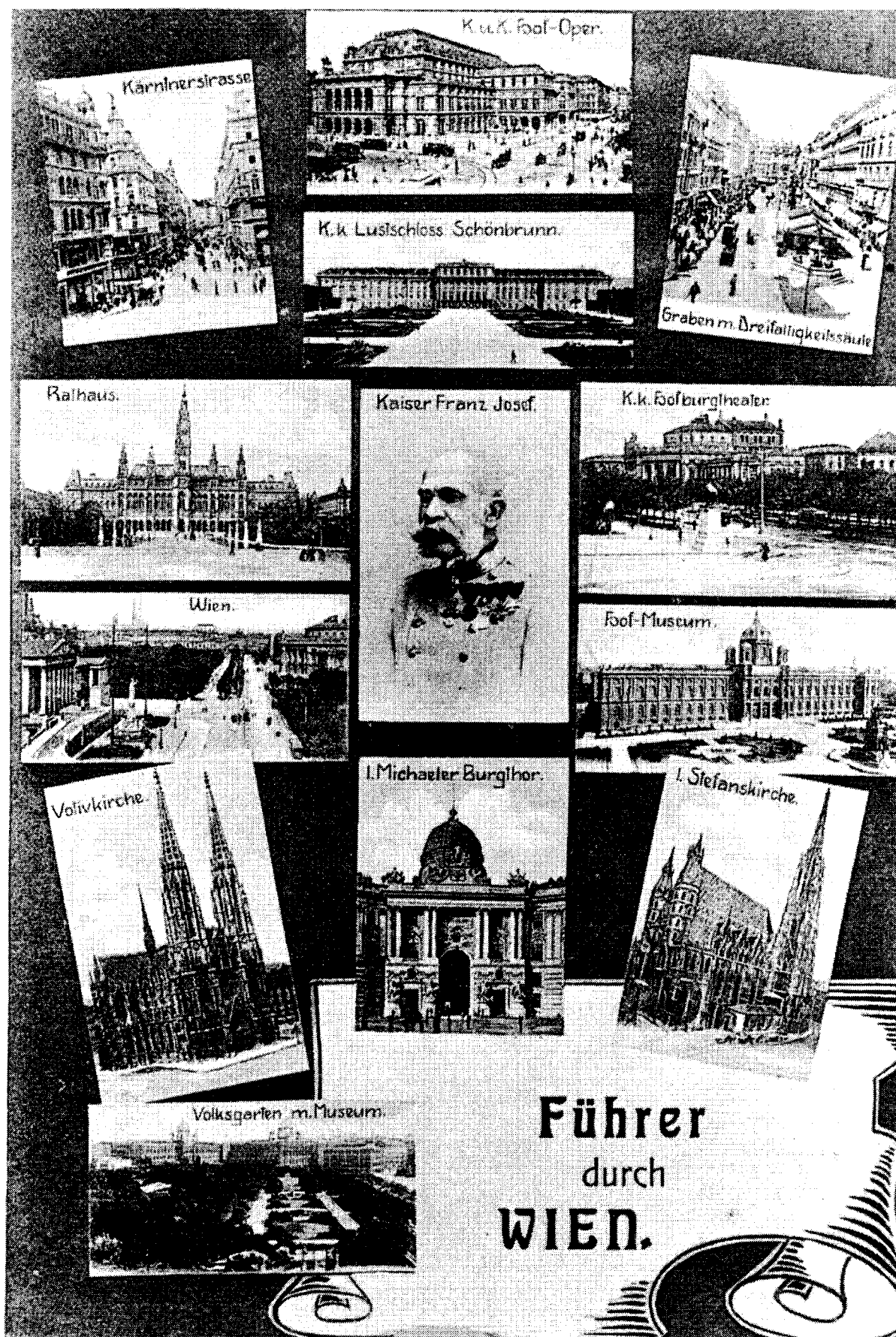
Notes

1. Arthur Schnitzler, *My Youth in Vienna*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968, p.102.
2. For the relative rates of growth of Prague, Budapest and Vienna see Gary Cohen, 'The social structure of Prague, Vienna and Budapest', in Gy. Ránki (ed.), *Hungary and European Civilization*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, pp.182–3.
3. See Wolfgang Kaschuba, 'German Bürgerlichkeit after 1800: Culture as Symbolic Practice,' in Jürgen Kocka and Adrian Mitchell (eds), *Bourgeois Society in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Oxford: Berg, 1993, pp.392–422.
4. The founding of the German empire in 1871 increased its attraction to German visitors while the restructuring of Austria-Hungary in 1867 reduced the catchment area for immigration into Austria

- and stimulated the growth of Prague and Budapest. See Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Vienna: Bridge Between Two Cultures*, trans. Dietlinde Mühlgassner and Craig Reisser, London and New York: Belhaven, 1993, p.5.
5. For a discussion of tourist statistics and the problems of calculating 'foreign' tourist flows in central Europe see Peter Jordan, 'Die Entwicklung der Fremdensverkehrsströme in Mitteleuropa (1910–1990) als Ausdruck Politischer und Wirtschaftlicher Veränderungen', in *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft*, 132, Vienna, 1990, pp.144–71. See also Françoise Knopper, 'Berlin et Vienne dans les relations de voyage 1900–1930', *Cahiers d'études germaniques*, 1993, 24, pp.253–66; Franz Baltzarek, 'Fremdenverkehr und Sport' in *Das Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josephs 1880–1916*, 2. Teil, Schloss Grafenegg: NÖ Landesmuseum, 1987, p.167, and Karl Pauschenwein, 'Die Entwicklung des Fremdenverkehrs in Wien und Niederdonau', PhD thesis, Hochschule für Welthandel, Vienna, 1941, pp.75–6.
 6. Helmut Kretschmer, 'Hotelboom – gestern und heute', *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, 1988–9, pp.71–9.
 7. Karlheinz Roschitz, *Wiener Weltausstellung, 1873*, Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1989.
 8. Emily Birchall, *Wedding Tour – January to June 1873 and Visit to the Vienna Exhibition*, David Verey and Alan Sutton (eds), Gloucester and New York: St Martins Press, 1985, p.125.
 9. Peter Capuzzo, 'Transportation system and urban space: Vienna 1865–1938', precirculated paper, Cities in Eastern and Western Europe, Third International Conference of Urban History, Central European University, Budapest, August 1996, 1–15, p.2.
 10. *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser* (London), 21 May 1873, p.5. I am indebted to the Thomas Cook Archive, London, for this material.
 11. *Art Journal* (London), July 1873, p.219.
 12. Kenneth Luckhurst, *The Story of Exhibitions*, London and New York: Studio, 1951, p.220.
 13. Julius Meurer, *A Handy Illustrated Guide to Vienna and its Environs*, Vienna and Leipzig: Hartleben, 1906; Moritz Bermann, *Illustrierter Führer durch Wien und Umgebungen*, Vienna: Hartleben, 1908; Fritz Hollrigl, *Wiener Cicerone, Illustrierter Fremden-Führer durch Wien und Umgebungen*, 16th edn, Vienna, 1907.
 14. *Das Etablissement Ronacher im Wort und Bild: nebst einem ausführlichen Fremdenführer*, Vienna: Anton Ronacher, 1888, repub. Vienna: Archiv, 1992.
 15. See Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Randall, Berkeley, University of California Press, pp.119–28 on 'tours' and 'boundaries'.
 16. For 'imaging' the city see Neil Harris, 'Urban Tourism and the Commercial City,' in W. Taylor (ed.), *Inventing Times Square: Commerce and Culture at the Crossroads of the World*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1991, pp.66–82.
 17. See 'Vienna the Beautiful', *The London Illustrated News*, 9 December 1911, p.962. This contrasted with Prague where conflicts between Czechs and Germans delayed the installation of a clean water supply.
 18. Henry Wickham Steed, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 4th edn, London: Constable, 1919, p.202.
 19. *Cook's Excursionist*, 15 August 1868.
 20. Felix Czeike, 'Landpartien und Sommeraufenthalte; Die Entwicklung vom ausgehenden 17 bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, 1988–9, pp.41–79. Heinrich Gruber, *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working Class Culture 1919–1934*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991, pp.117–18, and Robert Rotenberg, 'Viennese wine gardens and their magic', *East European Quarterly*, 4, 1984, pp.447–60.
 21. Karl Baedeker, *Austria-Hungary: Handbook for Travellers*, Leipzig: Baedeker, 1905, p.65.
 22. Robert Rotenberg, *Landscape and Power in Vienna*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, pp.55–8.
 23. Ulrich Storch, *Das Pratermuseum*, Vienna: Museum der Stadt Wien, 1993, pp.116–18. L. Kellner, P. Arnold and A. L. Delisle, *Austria of the Austrians and Hungary of the Hungarians*, London, 1914, pp.131–4.
 24. See Norbert Rubey and Peter Schoenwald (eds), *Venedig in Wien; Theater- und Vergnügungsstadt der Jahrhundertwende*, Vienna: Ueberreuter, 1996.
 25. Hollrigl, *Wiener Cicerone*, p.70.
 26. For example, typical photograph albums aimed at tourists were *Neustes Monumental Album von*

- Wien: *Sechzig der schönsten Ansichten*, 3rd edn, Vienna: Halm and Goldberg, 1908; Paul Wilhelm, *Wanderings Through Vienna*, Vienna: R. Lechner, c. 1908.
27. Felix Czeike 'Wiener Kunstpostkarten,' *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, 38, 4: 1983, pp.167–9.
 28. See for example the exhibition catalogue, *Das Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josephs 1880–1916*: 2. Teil, Schloss Grafenegg, 1985, cat. nos, 1, 11, 3, 26, 1, 4.
 29. Renata Kassal-Mikula, 'Architecture from 1815–1848', in Robert Waissenberger, *Wien 1815–1848: Zeit des Biedermeier*, London: Alpine Fine Arts Collection (UK), 1986, pp.151–3.
 30. For a discussion of the complexities of tourist cultures and the interaction between visitors and inhabitants see Tom Selwyn, 'Postlude', in Jeremy Boissevain (ed.), *Coping with Tourists*, pp.247–54 and Jeremy Boissevain, 'Ritual, Tourism and Cultural Commoditization in Malta: Culture by the Pound?' in Tom Selwyn (ed.), *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism*, Chichester and New York: John Wiley, 1996, pp.109–10.
 31. Ilsa Barea, *Vienna: Legend and Reality*, London: Pimlico, repub. 1992, p.319.
 32. Karl Baedeker, *Austria-Hungary*, Leipzig: Baedeker, 1905, p.8.
 33. Bermann, *Wien*, pp.136–52.
 34. Walter Kloschatzky, *Viennese Watercolours of the Nineteenth Century*, New York: Harry Abrams, 1988, p.226.
 35. Eduard Pötzl, *Wiener Skizzen aus dem Gerichts-Saal*, Vienna: Rosner, 1884.
 36. Holtrigl, *Wiener Cicerone*, pp.9–15.
 37. For a discussion of 'staged authenticity' see Dean MacCanell, *The Tourist: a New Theory of the Leisure Class*, New York: Schocken, 1976; and Tom Selwyn, 'The anthropology of tourism: reflections on the state of the art', in Anthony V. Seaton et al (eds), *Tourism: the State of the Art*, Chichester and London: John Wiley, 1994, pp.730–71.
 38. See Donald Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art, London, Paris and Vienna*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986, pp.235–48 for a discussion of Vienna as a setting for *Selbstdarstellung* (the presentation of the self in a role).
 39. Peter Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1996, pp.161–5.
 40. Kloschatzky, p.226, f.n. 259.
 41. Kellner et al, *Austria of the Austrians*, p.40.
 42. Rotenberg, pp.57–8.
 43. Robert Berman, *Modern Culture and Critical theory: Art, Politics and the Legacy of the Frankfurt School*, Wisconsin and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989, p.165.
 44. Nancy Meriwether Wingfield, 'Conflicting Constructions of Memory: attacks on Statues of Joseph II in the Bohemian Lands after the Great War', *Austrian History Yearbook*, 28, 1997, pp.151–3.
 45. Monika Gletter, 'Urbanisierung und Nationalitätenproblem' in Peter Berner, Emil Brix and Wolfgang Mantl (eds), *Wien um 1900: Aufbruch in die Moderne*, Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1986, p.186.
 46. Lichtenberger, *Vienna*, p.5; Eda Sagarra, 'Vienna and its Population in the Late Nineteenth Century: Social and Demographic Change 1870–1910' in Gilbert. J. Carr and Eda Sagarra (eds), *Fin de Siècle Vienna*, Dublin: University of Dublin Press, 1985, pp.187–203.
 47. Barea, *Vienna*, pp.318–23.
 48. See Michael John and Albert Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien einst und jetzt. Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart von Zuwanderung und Minderheiten*, Vienna: Böhlau, 1993.
 49. Joseph Böröcz, *Leisure Migration under Capitalism and State Socialism: an Austro-Hungarian Comparison*, PhD thesis, Baltimore, 1992, p.65.
 50. Scotus Viator (R. W. Seton-Watson), *Racial Problems in Hungary*, London: Constable, 1908, p.184.
 51. Katalin Sinkó, 'Die Millenniumsfeier Ungarns', *Das Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josephs* 2, pp.295–300.
 52. John Lukacs, *Budapest 1900: an Historical Portrait of a City and its Culture*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988, p.57.
 53. Will. S. Monroe, *Bohemia and the Čechs; The History of the People, Institutions, and the Geography of the Kingdom, together with accounts of Moravia and Silesia*, London: G. Bell, 1910; and Walter White, *A July Holiday in Saxony, Bohemia and Silesia*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1857, pp.146–50. For an account of the relationship between museums, language and the construction of national identity

- see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd edn, London and New York: Verso, 1983.
54. Milan Hlavačka and František Kolář, 'Tschechen, Deutsche und die Jubiläumsausstellung 1891', *Bohemia* (1991), 32, 2, pp.380–411.
 55. See Robin Lenman in Chapter 3 of this volume, on tourism in the adjoining regions of southern Germany.
 56. Mária Vida, *The Spas of Hungary*, trans. Éva Vámos, Budapest: Franklin Nyomda, 1992, p.29; Böröcz, pp.64–5.
 57. Vida, p.26.
 58. Anon, 'Therapeutic Bath: Margaret Island, Budapest', 1908. By 1906 the number of 'passing guests' was over 100 000 annually with 11–12 000 longstay guests.
 59. Bernecker, 'Die Entwicklung des Fremdenverkehrs in Österreich,' pp.237, 326.
 60. Catalogue of the Imperial Royal Austrian Exhibition, Vienna, 1906. *Bericht über die Österreichische Ausstellung, London, 1906*, Vienna: Staatsdruckerei, 1907.
 61. See Franz Lützwow, *The Story of Prague*, Medieval Towns Series, London: J. M. Dent, 1902.
 62. *A Guide to the Bohemian section and the Kingdom of Bohemia: a Memento*, Prague: Alois Wiesner, 1906, p.17. This was subsequently published as a guidebook in 1911. See J. V. Polišensky, *Britain and Czechoslovakia*, Prague: Orbis, 1968, pp.64–5.
 63. Figures from the *Report on the Hungarian Exhibition*, London, 1908, cited by Harold Hartley, *Eighty-five Not Out: a Record of Happy Memories*, London: Frederick Muller, 1939, p.210. The Queen 'Newspaper' Book of Travel considered that letters of introduction were still necessary for foreigners visiting Budapest. M. Hornsby, *The Queen 'Newspaper' Book of Travel: a Guide to Home and Foreign Resorts*, London: Cox, 1909, p.311.
 64. Lukacs, p.57; Böröcz, pp.108, 142.
 65. For a discussion of the Habsburg mission, its construction and presentation, see James Shedel, 'Emperor, Church, and People; Religion and Dynastic Loyalty during the Golden Jubilee of Franz Joseph', *Catholic History Review*, 76, 1990, pp.71–93.
 66. Werner Telesko, 'Die Wiener historischen Festzüge von 1879 und 1908: Zum Problem der dynastischen Identitätsfindung des Hauses Österreich', *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, 51, 3, 1996, pp.133–46.
 67. Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs: Embodying Empire*, London and New York: Viking, 1995, pp.27–84.
 68. *Illustrated London News*, 9 December 1911, pp.962–74.
 69. Baltarek, p.163.
 70. Henry Wickham Steed, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, London: Constable, 1919, pp.202–6.
 71. For the economics of the empire see David F. Good, *The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire, 1750–1914*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, pp.273–4. Good states that, of net foreign income from 1911 to 1913, Friedrich Fellner calculated that 50.6 million crowns were from tourism out of an inflow of 596.7 m crowns. These figures are disputed. Good has reworked them to arrive at a net income of 300.3 million crowns. He calculates a total GNP of 16.301 billion crowns. See also Paul Bernecker, 'Die Entwicklung des Fremdenverkehrs in Österreich', *Österreich-50 Jahre Republik 1918–1968*, Vienna: Institut für Österreichkunde Verlag, 1968, pp.94–114.
 72. Barea, p.320.
 73. Dorothea Gerard, *The City of Enticement*, London: Stanley Paul, 1911. See Harro Kühnelt, 'Dorothea Gerards Romane aus dem alten Österreich', in Sylvia M. Patsch (ed.), *Österreich: England/Amerika: Abhandlungen zur Literatur-Geschichte*, Vienna and Munich: Christian Brandstätter, 1986, pp.94–114; Jill Steward, 'The "travel romance" and the emergence of the female tourist', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 1998, 2.
 74. Henry Wickham Steed, *Through Thirty Years, 1892–1922: A Personal Narrative*, Vol. 1, London, 1924, p.196.
 75. Wickham Steed, 1919, p.202.



7.1 Führer durch Wien, c. 1908



7.2 Vienna, 1904. Advertisement for the Hotel Wimberger in Fünfhaus

7.3 (opposite) 'Gruss aus Wien', 1905, collaged photograph with drawing of 'Viennese Types' by Ch. Scolik

Figure 1. Schematic representation of the experimental design. The subjects were divided into two groups: the control group and the experimental group. The control group was divided into two subgroups: the control group and the control group. The experimental group was divided into two subgroups: the experimental group and the experimental group.



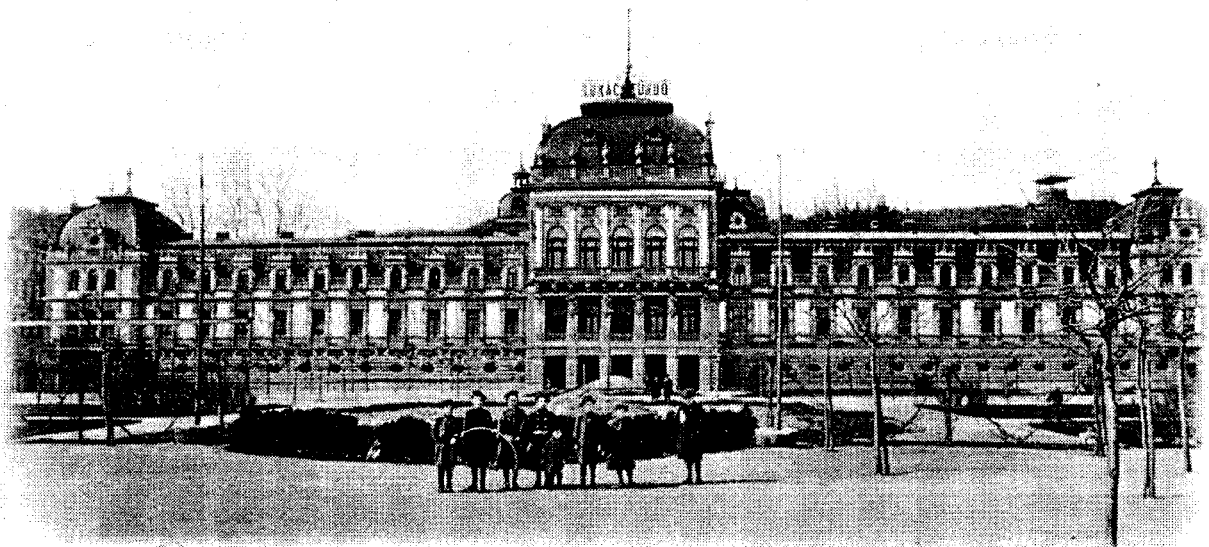
3. X. 1905



Upomínka na jubilejní zemskou výstavu
v Praze 1891.



Andenken an die Jubiläum-Landesausstellung
in Prag 1891.



Lukácsfürdő - St. Lucasbad

Budapest

7.4 (top) Souvenir of the 1891 Prague
exhibition

7.5 (bottom) The Lukásbad, Budapest,
c. 1900

Jill Steward

The Spa Towns of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Growth of Tourist Culture: 1860-1914¹

In the early twentieth century the romantic novelist Ouida, described Bad Ischl in Austrian Salzkammergut:

as calm and sedate, and simple and decorous. ... Ischl has nothing of the *belle petite*, like her sister of Baden, nothing of the titled *cocotte* like her cousin of Monaco. Ischl does not gamble, or riot, or conduct herself madly in any way; she is a little old fashioned, still in a courtly way; she has a little rusticity still in her elegant manners; she is homely whilst she is so visibly of the *fine fleur* of the *vielle souche*.²

In the nineteenth century many of the spas in the Habsburg Monarchy seemed, to western eyes, relatively undeveloped and backward compared with Wiesbaden or Nice. Nevertheless by the beginning of the twentieth century rapid social and economic changes supported a thriving spa culture. The larger spa towns expanded into leisure resorts equipped with urban amenities and ultra-modern facilities and even in remote provinces small spas, which could not be considered as towns in the usual sense of the term, underwent changes which marked the gradual diffusion of entrepreneurial and commercial attitudes across the Monarchy. This chapter will draw upon a variety of sources, including travel memoirs and guidebooks, to examine the factors supporting the growth of the spa industry from 1860 to 1914 and the emergence of commercialised forms of tourist culture in the principal spa resorts.³ In an area as ethnically and socially diverse as the domains of the Habsburg empire it would have been surprising if the spas towns had remained unaffected by the growth of the political and social tensions which characterised life in the Monarchy so that this essay will also consider, briefly, the relationship between the formation of tourist cultures and the growth of regionalism and nationalism.

The Legacy of the Past

The spa culture of the Habsburg Monarchy extended from the western Tyrol across to the Carpathians in the east and was distinguished from that of western Europe by

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- 1 To avoid confusion the system of nomenclature and spelling used throughout is that found in Baedeker's Österreich-Ungarn, 1907.
 - 2 Ouida, *Moths*, 1880, vol. 2, pp. 252-253.
 - 3 For the concept of tourist culture see Urry, *Consuming Places*, 1995, p. 164.

the particular richness and diversity of its bathing traditions which were shared by all social classes. The culture of the *cure* was associated with well-established traditions of pilgrimage travel across the Monarchy, particularly in Poland and the alpine regions. Their legacy was inscribed in the Calvary routes lined by small towns and villages accustomed to catering for pilgrims.⁴ Shrines were frequently located close to mineral springs and adjacent to the religious foundations, often the only source of health care available outside the towns. The use of mineral waters for bathing and drinking in central Europe was long-standing, sometimes going back to the Romans. In fourteenth century Hungary the granting of town status to a settlement was often accompanied by the building of a bathhouse.⁵ Outside the towns bathing facilities were primitive, usually little more than wooden huts as at Trencsin-Teplicz.⁶ A century later this small spa was visited by an English doctor travelling through central Europe, Edward Brown, who recorded a *bath for the gentry* and a *pauper's bath*, a phenomenon which was common elsewhere. In western Bohemia near Teplitz, for example, the Kinsky family developed several springs, formerly used by a convent, for the *common* and *gentle* people. At Baden near Vienna Brown noted nine different baths while at Villach in Styria he observed the *Natural Baths* surrounded by little rooms for privacy around the baths where people bathed in shirt and draws in the Austrian manner.⁷ In northern Hungary he visited the seven baths at Bad Stubnya, each catering for a different social group:

The first is the Nobleman's bath, the second is the Gentleman's, the third is the Countryman's, the fourth the Countrywomen's, the fifth the Beggar's bath, the sixth for such as are infected with the Lues Venorea, the seventh the bath of the gipsies.⁸

This was one of a number of public baths in northern and western Hungary, an area still within the Habsburg territories and which, like the bathing places in Transylvania, functioned as centres of elite social life during the *May cure*.⁹ This seasonal event persisted in remote districts where poor communications continued to make social intercourse difficult. Although the elites viewed the baths primarily

4 See Lepowitz, *Pilgrims, patients and painters*, 1992, pp. 123-125, 131-133.

5 Vida, *The Spas of Hungary*, 1992, p. 8.

6 Recorded in the sixteenth century by the Moravian doctor Thomas Jordan; Šípoš, *Slovenké Kúpele*, n.d., pp. 29-30.

7 Brown, *A Brief Account of some Travels*, 1735, p. 87.

8 Brown, *A Brief Account of some Travels*, 1735, p. 69. Segregation by class and sex was not always the rule. Julia Pardoe reported at secondhand that in Kaiserbad in Buda in the "largest and darkest part of its bathing-halls the only remnant now remaining of the Turkish hummum being appropriated by the lower orders, where the sexes enter indiscriminately on payment of three kreutzers schein, about one penny English". Since she was familiar with Constantinople she claimed to be "much startled by this arrangement ... without precedent in Turkish practice". *The City of the Magyar*, 1840, pp. 141-142.

9 Vida, *The Spas of Hungary*, 1992, p. 13.

as places of pleasure, a locus for various social events during the season, the larger ones employed a surgeon, barbers and attendants who shaved and massaged the bathers and whose practices Brown described in his *Travels*. For the poor the bathing attendants provided a basic form of health care.

During this period central and southern Hungary were still occupied by the Turks for whom bathing was associated with the religious requirement of cleanliness. Brown noted:

The natural baths of Buda are esteemed the noblest of Europe, not only in respect of their large and hot Springs, but the magnificence of their Buildings, for the Turks bath very much, and though little curious in most of their private houses, yet are they very sumptuous in their publick Buildings as their Chars and Caravansera's Mosches, Bridges and Baths declare.¹⁰

The retreat of the Turks from Hungary left much of that region in a state of extreme backwardness from which it took many years to recover. The rule of the Habsburgs contributed to changes in the economic and social life of the Monarchy, one result of which was that, by the eighteenth century many of the wealthier Bohemian, Austrian and Hungarian nobility were adopting a more urbanised, cosmopolitan lifestyle, spending part of the year in Vienna, by now firmly established as the principal social and cultural centre of central Europe. They began to emulate the life-style of the royal court and its highest officials who spent the summer months in residences outside the city or visiting spas like Karlsbad or Baden.¹¹ Some like the Serényi family at Luhatschowitz and the Erdödy family, who owned the town of Pöstyén, continued earlier developments of springs lying on their land, creating small but profitable spa parks.¹² Patronised by the lesser nobility who often lacked estates of their own, these small bathing places developed into summer resorts offering forms of urban-style entertainments such as theatricals, restaurants and dancing. As the nobility came under the influence of enlightened values they sometimes provided additional bathing facilities for the poorer social orders though on different sites.¹³ Another English doctor, Richard Bright, travelling in Hungary

10 Brown, *A Brief Accounts of some Travels*, 1735, p. 21. Vida notes that the first guidebook to the baths of Buda appeared in 1729; *ibid.*, p. 16. For Vienna see Eder, *Bade- und Schwimmkultur in Wien*, 1995.

11 From the beginning of the eighteenth century this pattern was followed by the wealthier middle class. The sick often used the baths nearby at Heilingenstadt and Rodaun. See Czeike, *Landpartien und Sommeraufenthalte*, 1998, p. 44. Among the guests at Baden was Mozart's wife Constanze who inscribed the following in the hotel testimonial book in 1750: "Dem Hochsten, ach, ich danke dir das was ich gefunden / Von diesem edlen Baad in fünfundneunzig studend." Cited Solomon, *Mozart*, 1995, p. 37.

12 Melton Van Horn, *The Nobility in the Bohemian and Austrian Lands 1620-1780*, 1995, pp. 121-123; Schimert, *The Hungarian Nobility in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* London, 1995, p. 174, on the life styles of different sections of the nobility.

13 See Szlatky, *Tissot as part of the medical Enlightenment in Hungary*, 1992, for a discussion of the influence of enlightened thought on health and disease in Hungary.

in the early nineteenth century noted at Hévíz that the Graf (Count Geörgy Festetics) had fitted the place up with a surgeon in attendance though "only for the lower class of people who came there during the summer".¹⁴ The Festetics family supported the kind of enlightened capitalism promoted by the liberal reformer Count Ivan Széchenyi who built a small bathing establishment on the Neusiedler See and helped the local peasants to renovate their houses so that they could let rooms to visitors.¹⁵

Bright also visited Pest which, at that time, possessed nine medical baths and two Russian steam baths. He described a visit to the publicly owned Rudas baths which he regarded (perhaps mistakenly) as typical and which were used by the poorer section of the community:

On entering from the open air, the room filled with steam, was so insufferably hot, as almost to oblige us to retire. In addition to this, it appeared dark, but in a few moments both our bodies and our eyes became accustomed to their new situation. The apartment was spacious, the centre being occupied by a circular basin under a dome supported by pillars. The descent into this is by two steps varying round the whole of its circumference. Here we beheld ten or twenty persons of each sex, partially covered with linen draws and the long tresses which fell loosely from their hands, amusing themselves by splashing in the hot sulphurous water. Disgusting as this was, it formed the least disagreeable part of the scene. On the outside of the pillars, the floor was paved and there lay, at full length, numerous human creatures, indulging amid the fumes, a kind of lethargic slumber, others lay upon the steps, and submitting to the kneading practice upon them by old women employed for the purpose. Some as if resting from their labours, lay stretched upon benches; and in different corners were groups of naked families, enjoying their mid-day meal, sour crout and sausages, amidst all the luxury of a profuse perspiration. To complete the scene there was a row of half-naked figures, like those in the bath; on whom a poor miserable surgeon was practising the operations of cupping and scarification, studiously inflicting as many wounds, and making as much show of blood as possible; in order to satisfy the immoderate appetite of the Hungarian peasant for this species of medical treatment.¹⁶

Writing of the Germans in 1840 John Murray noted in his guidebook that "an excursion to a watering place in the summer is essential to life and the necessity of such a visit is confined to no-one class in particular".¹⁷ This was also true in the Monarchy where bathing for reasons of pleasure, health and hygiene continued to

14 Bright, *Travels from Vienna through Lower Hungary*, 1818, p. 72. Rooney et al., *Richard Bright's Travels*, 1993, pp. 87-96, 99; Spillane, *Medical Travellers*, 1984.

15 Parsons, *Hungary*, 1990, p. 260. For a comparison with Vienna see Eder, *Bade- und Schwimmkultur in Wien*, 1995, pp. 131-151.

16 Bright, *Travels from Vienna through Lower Hungary*, 1818, p. 284-285.

17 Murray, *Handbook for Travellers to the Continent*, 1840, p. 217.

be popular amongst all social classes.¹⁸ By the second half of the nineteenth century the spas flourished as the new middle classes began to emulate the customs and habits of the traditional social elites so that regular recuperative visits to spas were incorporated into bourgeois patterns of leisure and consumption.¹⁹

Government policy and the attitude of the medical profession were amongst the reasons for the persistence and strength of the Monarchy's spa culture. In the eighteenth century, influenced to some extent by Cameralism, the Habsburgs encouraged the productive use of mineral waters as part of their attempt to increase the Monarchy's revenues and weaken the power of the monasteries and the aristocracy; while their encouragement of bathing and the drinking of the waters were part of the effort to improve the health of the population at large.²⁰ It was Maria Theresa who ordered the first comprehensive analysis of the Empire's mineral waters and sent the spa physician of Pöstyén, Dr Crantz of Vienna University (who was responsible for carrying it out), to Paris to study the latest treatments. She also rebuilt the ancient Roman spa of Herkulesbad in the Banat as part of an attempt to develop the area.

The centralised nature of the Habsburg administrative system, strengthened by Joseph II, meant that in the Monarchy, unlike England, the state exercised a continuous regulatory control over the spas through the system for licensing medical spas, appointing district and municipal health officers and from the 1770s onwards, issuing a series of directives relating to medical education. These made the universities and medical high schools responsible for training the medical and health personnel associated with the bathing places instead of the bathing guilds.²¹ Practitioners were graded according to the extent of their knowledge and only those who were officially trained and licensed could dispense medicine or practise surgery.²² Further reforms in 1848 attempted to restrict the role of the partially trained bath attendants and counteract some of their favoured practices which

18 See Eder, *Bade- und Schwimmkultur in Wien*, 1995, pp. 225-235; Puff, *Wegweiser in sämtliche Gesundbrunnen und Bäder der Steiermark*, 1854.

19 See Kaschuba, *German Bürgerlichkeit after 1800*, 1993, p. 416.

20 Rosen, *Cameralism and the Concept of Medical Police*, 1953, pp. 31, 34-35, for a discussion of Sonnenfels, advisor to the Habsburgs in the eighteenth century on matters of public welfare and health.

21 Szlatky, *Tissot as Part of the Medical Enlightenment in Hungary*, 1992, p. 195, notes, that the government gave clear recognition to those who popularised medicine. MacCartney, *The Habsburg Empire 1790-1918*, 1969, p. 61, gives J. Springer's figures, 1845, showing 7 doctors and surgeons per 10,000 head of population in Transylvania, 9 in the Military frontier and 10 in Galicia, the highest was 80 for Lower Austria, 46 for Styria and 34 for Bohemia.

22 Granville tells the tale of Dr Storch of Bad Gastein to whom Vienna sent an assistant, a pharmacist who had set himself up with many expensive medicines, thus depriving the doctor of additional income. Storch immediately took up Hahneman's teachings, ordered himself a small box of tinctures and essences (not officially defined as medicines) and set about recuperating his lost income while his unfortunate assistant packed his bags and returned to Vienna; Granville, *The Spas of Germany*, 1837, p. 308.

frequently involved the kind of bloodletting and scarification observed by Richard Bright. The sanitary regulations of 1870 confirmed the responsibility of the Ministry of the Interior in Vienna for the licensing of all bathing and hydrotherapy establishments and related public health legislation in Austria as well as the appointment of the regional officials and spa commissioners. The latter had to be qualified doctors and were responsible for the running of the baths, although day-to-day administration was organised locally. Spa physicians were appointed by the chief medical officer (*Sanitätsreferent*) who was, in effect, the head of the Monarchy's public health administration.²³ After Hungary was granted its autonomy in 1867, a similar pattern was adopted by the Hungarian government which incorporated spa regulation into its drive to centralise the administration.²⁴ As in Austria, the public health acts of the 1870s gave the responsibility for licensing the medical spas to the Ministry of Interior Affairs while the chief spa commissioner took on all the other functions associated with running the baths.²⁵ The regulations were partly modified in 1886 although yearly accounts had to be submitted to the ministry.

The change in official attitudes towards spa regulation were associated with changes in the medical culture. This began in the eighteenth century with the new interest in the systematic scientific analysis and classification of the mineral waters and their effects upon the physical system, making it possible for doctors to be more precise in recommendations to their patients.²⁶ These developments were exemplified by the new regime at Karlsbad where the chief physician's prescribed treatments substituting the drinking of carefully measured amounts of water, regulated walking and a strict diet for the unlimited drinking and long baths of former years. As medical practice became increasingly professionalised physicians became more specialised and selective. They began to refuse treatment to patients if they could not benefit from it or sent them elsewhere. At a time when many British spas were declining, their counterparts in central Europe benefited from the regulated efficiency with which they were run and the promotional activities of their physicians.²⁷ The latter stood to gain financially from the success of their spas

23 Lesky, *The Vienna Medical School*, 1976, p. 97. Palmberg, *A Treatise on Public Health*, 1893, p. 413.

24 The constitutional arrangements of 1867 recognised Austria and Hungary as two semi-independent states joined formally by their relationship to the Habsburg monarchy.

25 A factor stimulating spa legislation was the rise in visitor numbers from 21, 808 in 1878 to 135, 834 by 1893. Vida, *The Spas of Hungary*, 1992, pp. 21-22.

26 Until the educational reforms of the 1770s it was not uncommon for medical students from Protestant areas, particularly in Hungary, to train abroad and they brought back with them an interest in mineral waters.

27 See Bacon, *The Rise of the German and the Demise of the English Spa Industry*, 1997, p. 184. Dr Granville was clearly abreast of much of this literature when he embarked on his visit to German and Austrian spas in the 1830s. At Bad Ischl for example, the healing properties of its waters were discovered by Dr Götz, but it was Dr Wirer, physician to the royal family, who brought it to public attention. Wechsberg, *The Lost World*, 1979, pp. 103-104.

and their writings describing the various kinds of cures and treatments in which they specialised helped to stimulate interest amongst the new reading publics.²⁸

Behind some of these developments were influential figures in the medical establishment, especially members of the powerful Vienna Medical School. The approval of a key figure in the medical profession could substantially improve the fortunes of individual spas such as Luhatschowitz, which became fashionable in the 1850s when its waters were recommended by Johann von Oppolzer. The influence and control which the medical schools exercised over medical education gave them a crucial role in the dissemination and popularisation of new practices and treatments which was further sustained by the recurrent central European interest in natural healing. An example of this was the chief physician's official publicity organ, *Medicinische Jahrbücher des k.k. österreichischen Staates*, which first appeared in 1811.²⁹ An example of the belief in nature's healing power, the work identified relationships between weather, locality and disease as a basis for therapeutic treatments. Lesky suggests that continued support for this tradition contributed to the formal recognition of balneology, hydrotherapy and climato-therapy as legitimate medical specialisms when the Vienna Medical School first began to make appointments in these areas in the 1860s. The continued popularity of nature healing played a central role in the treatment of tuberculosis (in the early nineteenth century tuberculosis was known as the *Viennese disease*) and other pulmonary complaints when, in the last two decades of the nineteenth century doctors recommended careful attention to diet, hygiene and climate. Specially dedicated sanatoria were built in the mountains and along the Adriatic coast in places known for their pure air. The high cost of treatment however made it accessible only to patients with the necessary means for, unlike Imperial Germany, there was little provision for the care of the general public.³⁰ However the less well-off could benefit from the lower rates which allowed resorts like Zakopane to extend their season through the winter.

28 The educational reforms of the Habsburgs contributed to the growth of literate publics among the laity as well as the various kinds of health personnel. Example of spa literature include Wirer, *Ischl und seine Solbäder*, 1826; Hoisel, *Der landschaftliche Curort Rohitsch-Sauerbrunn in Steiermark*, 1875; Weinerger, *Der Curort Pistyán in Ungarn und seine Heilquellen*, 1875.

29 Lesky, *The Vienna Medical School*, 1976, pp. 300-301.

30 In Germany by 1900 the combination of governmental paternalism, the movement for public sanatoria and the Disability Insurance Law led to the provision of a large number of public sanatoria (*Volksheilstätten*) as a means of caring for (and segregating) the afflicted poor; Weindling, *Health, Race and German Politics*, 1993, pp. 164-167, 177-181; see also Labitch, *From individualism to collectivism*, 1997, pp. 39-42. In Austria it was only with difficulty that the first public sanatorium was set up in 1898 with money collected over a long period by a syndicate. Lesky, *The Vienna Medical School*, 1976, p. 297.



Figure 1: Archduke Joseph of Austria-Hungary as a Kneipp curist in Wörishofen. Postcard, 1901 (Author's collection)



Figure 2: The Woodland Spring at Marienbad. Postcard, 1909 (Author's collection)

Associated with the *natural healing* tradition were various kinds of *alternative therapies* which found strong support amongst the laity.³¹ One of the earliest and most influential spas known for these therapies was the small spa colony of Gräfenberg in Austrian Silesia run by Victor Priessnitz. Here curists followed a regime based on a belief in the value of fresh air and exercise, sweating and bathing and a diet which excluded tea and coffee in an all-day regime which also forbade reading, writing and intellectual effort.³² Half-way up a mountain, the spartan facilities of Gräfenberg were unable to accommodate more than 200-300 guests so that the small town of Freiwaldau, further down, took in the surplus including the *incurables* whom Priessnitz declined to treat and guests who preferred a less rigorous regime and liked gambling. Without formal medical qualifications, Priessnitz was a peasant who had worked out his principles in the course of self-treatment for a chest injury. He was investigated by the Medical Council in Vienna after a complaint but the official investigator was so impressed with the success of his treatments and the social standing of many of his patients and since Priessnitz neither practised surgery nor dispensed medicine, he was permitted to continue. Gräfenberg lapsed into a period of relative obscurity after its founder's death in 1851 although his influence survived in the many establishments set up by disciples such as Wilhelm Winternitz. The latter, Professor of Clinical Medicine in the Vienna Medical School, founded a private clinic at Kaltenleutgeben on the outskirts of the city in 1865 where he put his own theories of hydrotherapy into practice combining them with balneology, climatology, theories of diet (including the fashionable milk diet), therapy and Swedish gymnastics.³³ His writings subsequently attracted an international clientele, including Mark Twain's ailing wife. Another influential figure associated with alternative therapy was Father Sebastian Kneipp whose water-cure promoted the success of Wörishofen in Bavaria, attracting distinguished guests who walked on dewy grass and exposed their bodies to cold water, fresh air and natural essences (Figure 1).³⁴ By the turn of the century the proliferating *body and life reform* movements in central Europe were attracting growing numbers of adherents who, convinced that modern urban life contributed to the *degeneracy* of the body, sought recuperative and alternative treatments in picturesque rural surroundings in which they could temporarily

31 Churchill/Gilbert, *The Dolomites*, 1864, p. 66, report seeing 40-80 peasants submerged up to their necks in fresh hay in which they stayed night and day, emerging only for food supplied from a nearby hut. The cure was not recommended for consumptives.

32 Clavidge, *Hydropathy*, 1842, p. 50. Versions of these ideas could be found in the works of the eighteenth century French physician Tissot, see Emch-Deriaz, *The non-naturals made easy*, 1997, p.146, while the benefits of water were extolled by Johann Sigmund Hahn of Breslau, Silesia (1738).

33 Lesky, *The Vienna Medical School*, 1976, pp. 301-302.

34 Kneipp, *My Water-Cure*, 1893, was immensely popular and influential in the Monarchy. For the relationship between *alternative healers* and the orthodox medical establishment in Germany see Weindling, *Health, Race and German Politics*, 1989, pp. 20-23.

entertain Rousseauesque fantasies of returning to nature (Figure 2).³⁵ Some female guests tried out the kind of reform dress advocated by Paul Schulze-Naumberg.³⁶

The widespread belief in the benefits of spa treatments meant that even places as orientated towards recreational tourism as Meran were valued as much for their therapeutic functions as their leisure facilities, while many of the medically orientated spas successfully managed to accommodate guests who sought pleasure and recreation as much as health. However Francis Palmer remarked of fashionable Karlsbad in 1903 that it:

is not supposed to be a pleasure resort. The object of all the visitors is at least ostensibly, the restoration of health that has broken down under the stress of society functions, or political life, overwork or study, or the cares and worries inseparable from the existence of great financiers.³⁷

Most leisure resorts felt obliged to offer some kind of spa facilities even if these were confined to bathing, drinking or walking and special programmes of gymnastics.

The Expansion of the Spa Trade

The economic and social changes of the nineteenth century encouraged the growth and expansion of many of the Monarchy's cities and towns, including the spa towns and colonies. Spa handbooks from the second half of the nineteenth century give some idea of their number and variety, as well as an impression of the economic and social diversity of the territories in which they were located (Figure 3).³⁸ Dr Herman Klenke's *Taschenbuch für Badreisende und Kurgäste* published in 1875 has approximately 586 entries for Europe and the Mediterranean, 20% of

35 Max Nordau's popular book, *Degeneration*, 1895, p. 5, expressed these fears vividly: "The inhabitant of a large town ..., is continually exposed to unfavourable influences which diminish his vital powers far more than what is inevitable. He breathes an air charged with organic detritus, he eats stale, contaminated, adulterated food; he feels himself in a state of constant nervous excitement ... The effect of a large town on the human organism offers the closest analogy to that of maremma, and its population falls victim to the same fatality of degeneracy and destruction as the victims of malaria."

36 The *Swedish method* was popular with the social elites while the alternative system of *Turnvater Jahn* was adopted by the Bohemian gymnastic clubs supporting Czech nationalism as well as by the German workers' clubs; see Lidtke, *The Alternative Culture*, 1985, pp. 64-67. For a discussion of reform dress see Feuchtner, "Rekord kostet Anmut, meine Damen!", 1992, p. 21; see also Fischer, *Gustav Klimt*, 1992, pp. 75-102. Anderson, *Body Culture and the Ascetic Ideal*, 1992, makes the point that aestheticism, Jugendstil and body culture are interrelated features of German life at the turn of the century.

37 Palmer, *Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country*, 1903, p. 127. In 1895, Karlsbad had 44,000 cure guests and at least 25-30,000 transient guests who did not pay the visitors' taxes due after eight days; *North-German Lloyd Guide Through Central Europe*, 1896, p. 243.

38 For example Lengyel, *Die Heilquellen und Bäder Ungarns*, 1854; Hahn, *Die Bäder*, 1874.

which were for Austria and Hungary. By the turn of the century the spas could be roughly grouped into five geographically determined groups defined on the one hand, by their relative proximity to the major European tourist regions of Italy, Switzerland and the industrial heartlands of central Europe and, on the other, to the new centres of regional and national self-consciousness. Both of these relationships were central to the emergence of the systems of domestic and foreign tourism which influenced spa development in the Monarchy.³⁹ The most famous group of spa towns were those of western Bohemia, Karlsbad, Franzensbad and Teplitz-Schönau. Another group was formed by the numerous spas and health resorts of the alpine and sub-alpine regions: the Tyrol, the Salzkammergut, lower Austria and the Slovenian territories of which Bad Ischl, Bad Gastein and Meran were the best known abroad. A further cluster was located in the foothills of the Tatra and Carpathian mountains of the eastern provinces and included the health resorts of Tátrafüred and Zakopane while another group consisted of the other Hungarian spas, the most important of which was Budapest. It also included Pöstyén and Füred at Lake Balaton in the west, and to the east the small Transylvanian spas of the Sieburgian Hills and the Banat, especially Herkulesbad on the southern border. Finally along the Adriatic, there were the new health resorts of Dalmatia of which the most important was Abbazia.⁴⁰

In the 1870s many of the spas (including some listed by Klenke) were still little more than tiny settlements outside a town or village where the seasonal presence of spa guests constituted an important element in the local economy.⁴¹ Others were developing into *towns* of varying size with an identifiable form of urban culture, some with municipal status.⁴² Unmentioned by Klenke but by far the largest of the spa towns was Budapest, the new capital of Hungary and the *city of spas*.⁴³ By 1912 48 of the spas in Bohemia and Moravia accounted for more than a quarter of the Austrian *cure* industry out of a total of 140, these also had a high volume of long-stay guests. There were a further 213 in Hungary.⁴⁴

39 Jordan, *Die Entwicklung der Fremdenverkehrsströme in Mitteleuropa*, 1900, pp. 147-152.

40 "Dalmatia ist jetzt das Fremdemverkersland par excellence in Österreich." Hartleben, *Illustrierter Führer durch Dalmatien*, 1912, p.v.

41 One typical example was Ratzen in the southern Tyrol, which at the end of the nineteenth century was still a tiny village bath-house combined with a chapel which catered for *the humbler classes* of local peasant farmers and small tradesmen and their families from the nearby resort of Bozen; Churchill, *The Dolomites*, 1866, pp. 54-55; Stoddard, *Tramps Through the Tyrol*, 1912, pp. 209, 228-229.

42 Municipal status gave towns the right to levy taxes. For a discussion of the different categories of towns in eastern Europe see Klusáková, *Cultural Institutions as Urban Innovations*, 1999.

43 Budapest only became the official capital of Hungary in 1867.

44 Bohemia and Moravia, 1919, p. 71. The registration figures for the medically licensed spas were separate; De Varga, *Hungary*, 1909, p. 47.

The Spa Towns of the Austro-Hungarian Empire



Figure 3: Map of Austria-Hungary by Roger Newbrook

There was no single pattern of development common to all the spa towns but there were some important shared factors which contributed to the growth of some and the decline of others. The differences between them reflected the unevenness of the pace at which economic modernisation spread across the Monarchy. By the end of the eighteenth century 15% of the populations of alpine Austria and Bohemia were already living in the small market towns and cities which formed relatively dense and well-developed urban networks in these territories.⁴⁵ In the following century the industrialisation of the Czech lands and a rapid rise in their populations meant that while the neighbouring regions attracted a relatively large number of the Monarchy's spa guests, they played a less important role in spread of commercialised forms of urban culture than the spas located in relatively undeveloped parts of Hungary. In the Austrian and Bohemian lands there were plenty of small market towns and regional centres, other than the spas, which functioned as centres of leisure and consumption. By contrast, after the long Turkish occupation of much of Hungary only 5% of the population could be counted as urban and much of the region remained relatively backward. In this

⁴⁵ Good, *The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire*, 1984, p. 24; Schultze, *Review Article*, 1997, pp. 1-27. For a comparison with English developments at the same period see Stobart in this volume.

intensely rural society the impact of spa development, even on a small scale, was consequently greater, as tiny watering places for a few months a year, allowed the social elites of the region to enjoy a few of the elements associated with urban living. The influx of visitors impacted on the surrounding villages as they supplied fresh produce and labour, stimulating the development of a commercialised economy in the surrounding locality.⁴⁶ This effect was probably greatest in the remote regions to the east and south of the Great Plain which were the least touched by the rapid growth of industry and commerce which was transforming the north and west in the second half of the century.⁴⁷

The fortunes of a spa could be radically changed by its relationship to the transport and communication systems of the Monarchy, particularly after the advent of the railways, while the railway networks were themselves a major influence on the topography of the spa system. Improvements in communications began with the introduction of steam power to the Danube and the building of the first railways in the 1840s. The latter changed Baden from a summer resort for the social elites to a pleasure resort for the people of Vienna. On a visit to Vienna in 1843 J.G. Kohl noted that "the number of persons carried out that Sunday could not be less than twelve thousand ... smokers, drinkers and cooks, many to the baths."⁴⁸ 30 years later the railway networks linked most of the principal towns and cities of the Monarchy. By the 1890s, instead of 25 days on the Danube, it only took four hours to travel from Vienna to Budapest. By then the privately owned Southern Railway gave easy access to the climatic resort of the Semmering, the spa colonies of Styria and Carinthia and the sunny seaside resort of Abbazia on the Gulf of Quarnero. Most affluent Magyars and Poles were within relatively easy reach of the numerous spas of north and western Hungary although they might have to finish the journey by diligence or horseback. The development of the railways was influenced by military and political strategies which required rail links with the outside world. Routes from Vienna and Budapest, the hubs of the Austrian and Hungarian systems, linked the Monarchy to Russian Poland, Romania, and the Balkans. This made it relatively easy for the social elites of those regions to travel to the nearby spas of the Hungarian Tatra and Carpathian regions and encouraged the formation of economic, cultural and ethnic ties within these areas.⁴⁹

46 For example, the relatively tiny spa of Borszék in the eastern Carpathians on the Romanian border, according to Baedeker "the most frequented watering place in Transylvania", had a population of 1700 and 800-1000 yearly visitors; Baedeker, *Austria-Hungary*, 1905, p. 409. However the contrast with Marienbad's 5,000 inhabitants and 30,000 visitors shows the variety in the Monarchy's leading spa towns; Baedeker, *Österreich-Ungarn*, 1907, pp. 313-314, 491.

47 Good, *The Economic Rise*, 1984, pp. 24, 135-148.

48 Kohl, *Austria*, 1843, pp. 156-157.

49 Turnock, *Eastern Europe*, 1989, pp. 132-166.

In addition to their newly acquired accessibility, one reason why many of the established spas benefited from the expansion of leisure tourism which took place in the 1880s was because, initially, apart from Vienna and the alpine regions of western Austria, they were the only places with an infrastructure capable of accommodating a flow of tourists on any kind of serious commercial scale.⁵⁰ One of the most obvious signs of the growth of tourism were the many new hotels, guesthouses and villas which appeared in the larger resorts, one of the largest of which was Karlsbad. By 1910 the town had a population of around 15,000, a thriving porcelain industry, a large mineral water bottling plant and was the clearing house for an important commercial district. Budapest, formed by the unification of Buda, Pest and Óbuda in 1873, was not listed by Klenke but was one of the fastest growing cities in the world, with the bathing needs of its expanding population catered for by the commercial redevelopment of its many spas. In the Tyrol, Meran continued to expand while tiny bathing places nearby like Mitterbad became small spa resorts in their own right. On the Quarnero, Abbazia ceased to be a cluster of private villas and became a coastal resort.

A variety of factors determined the pattern of development in the leading spas and the extent to which qualitative improvements were made to their infrastructure. These included their physical location and the lie of land, the number and quality of their springs and the availability of capital and municipal and private enterprise. Spas developed on estate land like Pöstyén or Luhatschowitz often lay in landscaped parkland. Marienbad, developed in 1808 by the monks of Teplá, was built in the middle of a park on land drained for the purpose. The general pattern of development followed in Karlsbad, which combined public and private enterprise, was fairly typical of other Austrian spas which enjoyed municipal status, if rather more spectacular in its results.⁵¹ The town was the most prominent of the west Bohemian spas with several major springs and in the middle of the eighteenth century the town was very well-established as a resort for the aristocracy. In the early nineteenth century the municipal authorities granted two years of tax relief to encourage the use of stone and stuccoed brick instead of fire-prone timber. The deficiencies of the town's site, in a cramped and narrow winding valley, encouraged the municipal authorities to broaden the main thoroughfares and open up the spaces of the old town: many of the guests however still preferred to stay in the new hotels and guesthouses higher up the hillsides.⁵² Capital for improvements was derived from municipal revenues including the cure and music taxes levied on visitors and from the efforts of local entrepreneurs.⁵³ Over a period of 50 years

50 See Böröcz, *Leisure Migration*, 1996, pp. 33-52.

51 There was never any question of state funding for spa development. For French expectations of state largesse see Mackaman in this volume.

52 Weber, *Climatotherapy and Balneotherapy*, 1907, p. 475.

53 See Mikoletsky, *Zur Sozialgeschichte des österreichischen Kurorts*, 1991, for a discussion of categories of guests and spa taxes in Baden and Bad Gastein.

several million pounds was spent on enlarging and improving the town's amenities so that at the end of the century it possessed gas and electric lighting, a sewage system, a slaughter works and a clean water supply, the streets were paved with asphalt and wood which meant that "the town is perfectly quiet in spite of its thousands of visitors".⁵⁴ Other authorities consciously adopted this model of development as they tried to attract guests who were growing accustomed to modern amenities and comforts.⁵⁵

By 1912 the town's two major hotel companies were capitalized at four million and three million marks respectively: the best known belonging to the Pupp family.⁵⁶ The activities of this family showed the close links between private and public enterprise which characterised much spa development. In the 1850s, with money from the family patisserie business, the Pupps bought part of the Bohemian Hall originally built by a former mayor, the pharmacist Andreas Becher. They developed the hall into the town's main assembly room and the main centre of the spa's social life. In 1862 the Pupps sold a Swiss-style hall, built on a site intended for the future Grandhotel Pupp, to the council for an international congress after which the Pupps bought it back at a bargain price. Adding the adjacent Saxon Hall in 1890 the Pupps then developed the site as a complete cultural complex which they financed through joint stock capital. Retaining control of the company's assets the family modernised the two luxury hotels built on either side of the Grand Assembly Hall in 1903, adding central heating and private bathrooms while the Hall acquired a massive concert organ costing 260,000 crowns, a spa orchestra and chamber groups.⁵⁷

The development and promotion of new spas was often closely linked to the economic needs of the railways. In 1880 the Southern railway company (one of the few still privately owned in Austria at the turn of the century) built a hotel and the first villa colony on the climatic resort of the Semmering in the eastern Alps, conveniently close to Vienna.⁵⁸ Four years later its enterprising director, Friedrich Schüller, began the development of Abbazia as a leisure resort by setting up a company to build hotels, health and recreational facilities intended to cater for a wider market than the colony of rich Russians who had adopted the place.⁵⁹ Although the town became a local resort for the inhabitants of Trieste, it remained relatively exclusive because of the cost of the journey from the Monarchy's

54 Linn, *Health Resorts*, 1910, p. 40. For a discussion of for registration figures in general see Jordan, *Die Entwicklung der Fremdenverkehrsströme in Mitteleuropa*, 1990, pp. 146-152, and for the problems of dealing with tax figures in particular, Mikoletsky, *Zur Sozialgeschichte des österreichischen Kurorts*, 1991, pp. 393-433.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 404. On changing attitudes to hygiene see Trupat, "Bade zu Hause!", 1996, p. 227.

56 One was able to pay a dividend of 15%; see *Bohemia and Moravia*, 1919, p. 71.

57 Denby, *Grand Hotels*, 1998, pp. 158-163.

58 Kos, *Die Eroberung der Landschaft*, 1992, pp. 304-333.

59 For a discussion of policy relating to banking and investment see Good, *The Economic Rise*, 1984, pp. 206-218.

industrial heartlands. Abbazia's pattern of development illustrated the complementary nature of the relationship between health and leisure tourism in the Monarchy as the town acquired a reputation, not just as a sunny seaside town, but also for its sanatoria and health giving qualities.⁶⁰

The necessary combination of railway access, capital and enterprise required for successful development was exemplified by the development of Levico, a small bathing resort in the southern Tyrol, popular with Italians. The spa was acquired and developed by the municipal authorities in 1857 who built a large *Kurhaus*. Linked to the railway system in 1897 with the promise of a further link to Italy, the town attracted a redevelopment proposal from a German company in 1900.⁶¹ Since the town was uncomfortably hot in summer an important part of the plan was to extend the season by constructing an electric tramway to nearby Ventrìola, which was cooler as well as the source of the town's mineral waters. Large schemes such as this and projects which involved major redevelopment of a town's facilities to provide sanatoria, new pumprooms, theatres, concert halls, and casinos involved close collaboration with the local authorities and spa commissioners with the result that sometimes local conservatism and the clash of interests delayed developments as in the case of the proposed new *Kurhaus* for the suburbs of Meran.

The general appearance of a spa, the modernity of the amenities and the beauty of its surroundings were important elements in its ability to attract visitors. Many spas were situated in mountainous or hilly territory and were well placed to benefit from the general taste for picturesque or *sublime* rural scenery. Teplitz-Schönau however, an old spa on the edge of a developing coalfield became an important industrial and commercial centre, but began to suffer from the lack of the scenic surroundings for which the other Bohemia spas were famous. The general adulation of nature encouraged speculative developments like the spa at Roncesgno in the southern Tyrol where guests could enjoy modern amenities in rural splendour.

Capital was less easily available in the relatively underdeveloped eastern territories such as Polish Galicia. However, the village of Zakopane originally bought in the 1820s by a Prussian baron, by the 1870s was well-established as a centre for excursions into the Tatra mountains.⁶² The Tatra Society, modelled on the Alpine associations, established a club house and office there. Polish intellectuals from nearby Krakau built themselves cottages and villas while the village's reputation for *pure air* made it into a climatic resort, beneficial for

60 For a discussion of bathing culture in Vienna see Auer, *Kurstadt Wien*, 1979; Eder, *Sonnenanbeter und Wasserratten*, 1993, pp. 245-274.

61 The venture was advertised in the souvenir *Guide Through Europe* (1901) of the *Hamburg-American Shipping Company*, identifying the company's value at 2 million marks of paid-up capital for a 40 year lease from the spa administration. The number of similar companies involved in the tourist industry suggests it was considered sufficiently profitable in the long term to make the effort worthwhile.

62 Bryce, *Memories of Travel*, 1923, p. 68.

pulmonary disorders. The development of the railways made the settlement easily accessible and it soon became so popular with wealthy Poles from industrial Poland that, by 1886, the town was formally given the status of a health resort with a municipal council and the power to levy rates. A year later a big hydrotherapeutic establishment was opened.⁶³

A very early example of spa redevelopment in northern Hungary was Trencsín-Teplice. The banker and trader, Georg Sina, bought it in 1835 from the Illésházy family. He subsequently built an imposing hotel which his daughter later gave to the town because of the cost of its upkeep.⁶⁴ When Hungary became semi-autonomous development capital was in such short supply that the Hungarian government was forced to offer substantial subsidies to foreign companies in order to complete the railway system. As an incentive for modernising and redeveloping the spas it also offered twenty years of tax exemptions, a policy which met with a modest degree of success. The Rács bath in Budapest, for example, was bought by a doctor who rebuilt it and improved its entertainment facilities. At first the bulk of the capital financing Hungarian spa development came from within the Monarchy. Henrik Mattoni, for example, the owner of the Giesshübler bottling plant and spa in Bohemia, bought the Elizabeth salt spa in Budapest, also a cure and bottling establishment while the company owned by the Bohemian industrialist, Alexander Winter leased the spa facilities in Pöstyén in 1889 and set about attracting an international clientele.⁶⁵ Winter also founded a workers' boarding house where cures were financed by one of the Monarchy's first health insurance schemes. As Hungarian capital became more freely available some of it went also into spa development but as in Austria, the cost of modernisation was often so great that joint stock capital was required to complete major programmes of reconstruction and modernisation such as the one at Luhatschowitz undertaken by Count Sérenyi in 1901.

Budapest had a mixture of public and private baths. The city was well aware of the financial and health benefits provided by the spas. Health tourism and the entrepreneurial development of the bottling plants made valuable contributions to municipal revenues while the baths were regarded as an important element in the city's health policy, an example of which was the drilling of an artesian well in the Városliget park in 1878 and by the building of the Széchenyi baths.⁶⁶ The privately owned Lukacs Bath, used primarily by the lower orders, had to be sold in 1893 because the cost of redevelopment could only be financed through joint stock capital. Municipal provision continued to be made for the poor in the Rudas bath, publicly owned since the 1830s. Another example of municipal enterprise was the

63 Turnock, *Eastern Europe*, 1989, pp. 177-178; Nyka, *In the Polish Tatra Mountains*, 1971.

64 Šipoš, *Slovenské Kúpele*, n.d., p. 31.

65 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

66 Shaw, *Municipal Government in Continental Europe*, 1895, pp. 465-466.

purchase of Margaret Island. This spa, set in beautifully landscaped gardens, was originally developed by the Archduke Joseph and his family as a exclusive leisure resort for anyone able to pay the entrance fee, a practice maintained by the council. The city was also responsible for the building and development of the new Gellért bath and hotel intended specifically for the use of tourists.

The architectural variety of the spa towns reflected the richness of the Monarchy's cultural heritage and the social and ethnic complexity of its populations. Some spas contained architectural relics from the past, like the Turkish bath at Eger and the remnants of the original Roman baths at Herkulesbad. Hidden behind their nineteenth-century exteriors, a number of spas in Budapest still retained their Turkish original features like the octagonal pool and cupola dome of the Rács baths. This heritage was consciously exploited in Trencsin-Teplice where Sina's daughter built a beautiful Moorish *Hamman* (bath) from a design she saw at the 1878 world exhibition. At Pöstyén the neo-classical Napoleon baths of 1821 bore witness to the influence of French culture on the more liberal members of the aristocracy. 90 years later the Thermia Palace, built with joint stock capital, was one of the Monarchy's many examples of Art Nouveau architecture, and, like the Gellért baths in Budapest, embodied old and new decorative forms.

Many spa towns contained buildings in the Italianate styles found throughout the Habsburg territories while *Maria Theresa yellow* adorned the exterior of many a *Kurhaus* and casino (Figure 4). The Habsburg style was clearly evident in Karlsbad. Here, in the late 1860s, the authorities initiated a competition for the new Mill Spring Colonnade (1871-1878) to replace the eighteenth-century bath house in an attempt to remedy what the English author of a spa handbook Dr Macpherson described as "a look of dampness and want of repair about many of the buildings over the wells".⁶⁷ This was won by the neo-classical design of the Czech architect Joseph Zitek. Neo-baroque was the style favoured by the Viennese architects Ferdinand Fellner and Hermann Helmer for the exterior of the Sprudel Colonnade in which they utilised the new technology of cast iron and glass (Figure 5) although their design for the Kaiserbad evoked the French Renaissance. Famous as theatre designers to the empire, they also designed one for Karlsbad which was decorated by the Klimt brothers. The Grand Hotel Pupp combined old and new styles of architecture, the neo-classical exterior hid an ornate interior decorated with rococo shells and an *art nouveau* ceiling. The international character of the town, like that of Marienbad and Franzensbad was marked by an Anglican church, a Jewish synagogue and the bulbous spires of the Russian orthodox church.

⁶⁷ Macpherson, *The Baths and Wells of Europe*, 1873, p. 264.

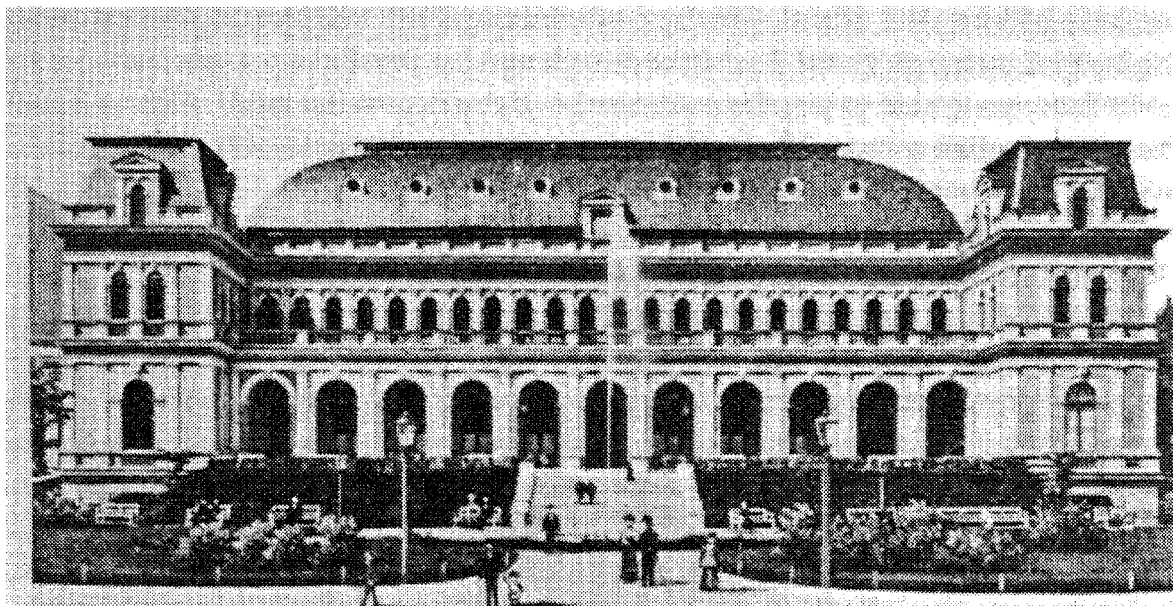


Figure 4: The *Kurhaus* at Bad Ischl, the spa of the Austrian. Postcard, c. 1900 (Author's collection)



Figure 5: Karlsbad; interior of the Sprudel Colonnade (Fellner and Hellmer, 1879). Postcard (Author's collection)

The diversity of the Monarchy's bathing traditions and practices was expressed in the physical organisation and internal arrangements of the individual spa establishments although by the early twentieth century many of them, at least in the western territories, had often been rebuilt to conform with modern views on hygiene and decency (Figure 6). In 1873 Macpherson described "the enormous swimming baths" in Baden which he considered amongst "the largest and most crowded" in Europe, where "all the arrangements are on a magnificent scale". He commented that there were still "common ones in which ladies and gentlemen spend many hours together. They are surrounded by balconies, from which their friends can view and converse with them, as in the old days at Bath." Segregated and private baths were also available.⁶⁸ Like Dr Granville 30 years earlier Macpherson commented on the effectiveness of the strongly purgative waters at Karlsbad and Marienbad indicated by "the number of *cabinets* scattered among the woods, and which diffuse an odour that calls loudly for hygienic measures".⁶⁹ By the turn of the century most of the largest spas possessed thoroughly modern facilities and advertised their *English plumbing*.



Figure 6: Peat baths for private cubicles at Franzensbad. Postcard, 1908 (Author's collection)

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 177. He considered Baden more of a tourist sight than a serious medical establishment. Klenze, *Das Taschenbuch für Badereisende*, 1873, pp. 279-280.

⁶⁹ Macpherson, *The Baths and Wells of Europe*, 1873, p. 264.

A distinctive feature of the Austro-Hungarian spas was the attractiveness of their physical layout and immediate environment. The provision of public spaces and promenades led the inhabitants of many of Europe's most remote towns and cities to incorporate promenading or the *corso* into their habitual routines.⁷⁰ The spa authorities therefore needed to accommodate the customs and rituals of the presentation of self, deemed essential elements in the day's entertainment, through the provision of appropriate arenas for social display. A typical example was the esplanade created by Dr Wirer along the river Traun at Ischl which was intended to remind visitors of Vienna.⁷¹ Meran became famous for its colonnaded walks, shady public spaces, gardens and bandstands. Spas built on estate land, as at Pöstyén or Luhatschowitz, often lay in carefully laid out parks and gardens. The winding walks of the English landscape style of gardening were ideally suited to the requirements of exercise and sociability. It was also popular with some of the Hungarian aristocracy for its ideological symbolism.⁷² In many of the Austrian and Bohemian resorts the prescription of the *terrain-cur* encouraged the provision of sloping paths involving a variety of different and graduated amounts of *up* and *down* exercise. Some places encouraged cycling when it became fashionable.

Spa Life and the Growth of Tourist Culture

The predominantly urban life-styles of spa guests contributed to the spread of urban habits, attitudes and patterns of consumption in areas outside the main towns and cities. Even in Hungary, where in 1890 there were only 20 large spas, the annual appearance of urban visitors in the small rural communities containing spa colonies helped to stimulate the beginnings of a consumer-orientated tourist economy. As some of the more successful spa settlements such as Trencsin-Teplice and Bad Bartfeld developed into resorts they acquired the character, appearance and status of towns with their numerous modern hotels, bathing establishments and villas lined up in streets while during the season dances, theatrical and musical entertainments generated the semblance of a modern urban culture (Figure 7). Apart from its gypsy bands, Pöstyén boasted a cinematograph and various kinds of sporting activities. Balatonfüred was distinguished by its theatrical traditions and its yacht club. This was one example of a spa whose season now lasted all year although the type of clientele varied according to the time of year. Some spas functioned only in winter like Gries which took in many guests who then spent the summer in nearby Bozen, an example of the kind of local networks which often

70 Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art*, 1986, pp. 235-248, for a discussion of self-display in Vienna. There were similar scenes in Budapest.

71 Wechsberg, *The Lost World*, 1979, p. 104.

72 See Rotenberg, *Landscape and Power*, 1995, p. 82. Zádor, *A Landscape Garden*, 1985, p. 119, comments on the use of French formal elements to indicate status.

developed amongst the spas of a particular region. For other spas an important part of their trade came from the growing numbers of passing guests or short-stay visitors, often with limited means. Short outings to Baden were popular with the inhabitants of Vienna and Wiener Neustadt and, for the social elites of Budapest, to Margaret Island. A few rural spas like Herkulesbad, a short distance from the major highway of the Danube, also attracted a flourishing short-stay trade while Giesshübl-Sauerbrunnen near Karlsbad, a small spa close to the German border and better known for bottled water, in 1888 was able to attract 26,000 short-stay visitors, who outnumbered the 500 cure patients.⁷³

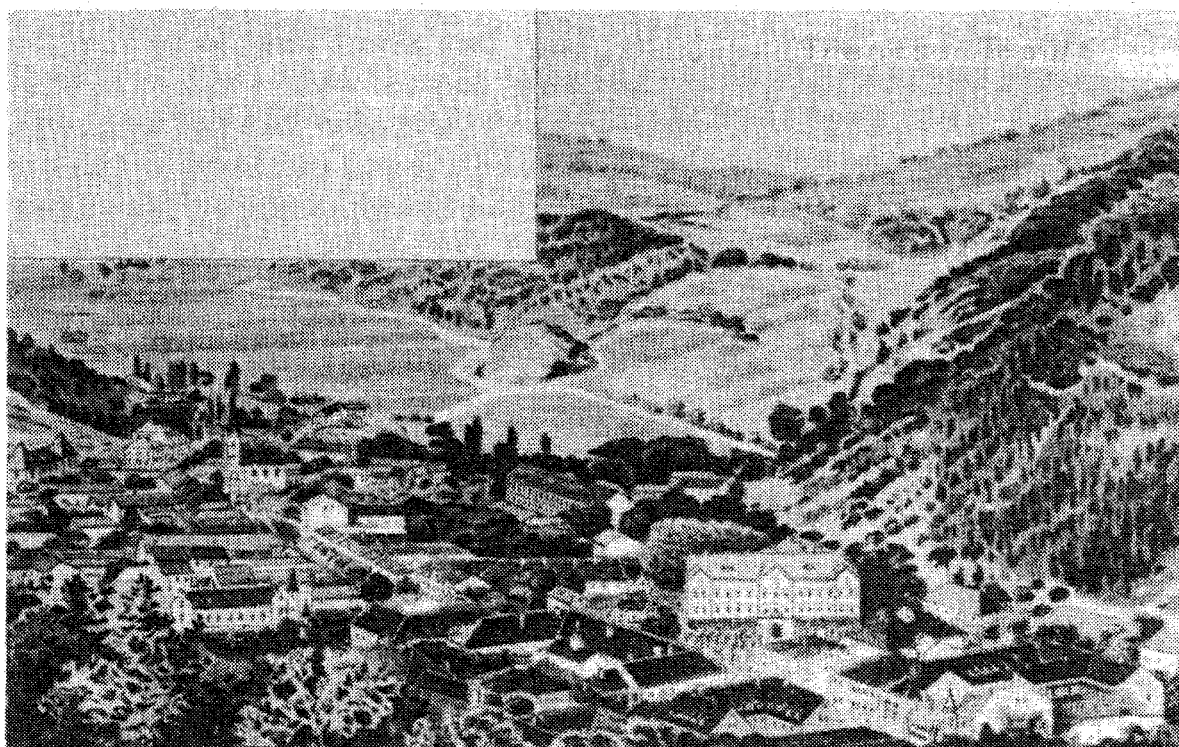


Figure 7: Trencsin-Teplice in northern Hungary. Postcard, c. 1900-1905 (Author's collection)

⁷³ Mikoletsky gives the figure for Baden's *passing trade* in 1885 and 1905 as 986 and 11,376 respectively out of totals of 13,143 and 29,239. Mikoletsky, *Zur Sozialgeschichte des österreichischen Kurorts*, 1991, p. 400. St Margaret's Island attracted over 100,000 *passing guests* per year. In 1906, the number of long-stay guests was 11-12,000, while the number of bathers registered at the municipal statistics office was 23,760. Therapeutic Bath St Margaret's Island, 1908, p. 47. For a comparison with French trends see Mackaman, *The Landscape of a ville d'eau*, 1993, pp. 281-291. For a comparison with Bad Schandau in Germany see Keitz, *Reisen als Leitbild*, 1997, p. 321.

Although the bulk of spa guests continued to come from the elite classes of the Monarchy, it was the particular mix of social and ethnic groups attracted to individual spas which gave them their distinctive social tone. The west Bohemian spas were characterised by their truly international and predominantly aristocratic nature while many Tyrolean resorts were becoming popular with upper-class British visitors who were escaping from the *masses* of their fellow countrymen now patronising Switzerland. Spas patronised by royalty attracted a certain kind of fashionable clientele. When Bad Ischl became the summer residence of the royal family in the 1830s, the nobility and high bureaucrats abandoned Baden and turned Ischl into the summer home of the Austrian court. Herkulesbad was patronised by Balkan royalty and visited “chiefly by the poorer class” while Abbazia became fashionable after the German imperial family paid a visit there in 1894.⁷⁴ The sophisticated resorts of Karlsbad and Marienbad attracted wealthy visitors from all over Europe because of their relatively highly developed facilities and smart aristocratic clientele. In 1905 when King Edward VII paid the first of his regular visits to Marienbad, his favourite spa, the number of visitors was around 23,000. Two years later it had risen to around 30,000. The puritanical British politician Campbell-Bannerman, a patron of Marienbad since its quiet days in the 1870s, commented on “the extra-ordinary number of *tainted ladies* in the American and English contingents”.⁷⁵ An increase in the numbers of the demi-monde was also noticeable at Karlsbad which benefited from proximity to the royal presence as an influx of English visitors, diplomats and journalists increased the number of registered guests from 50,000 visitors in 1905 to 62,000 two years later.⁷⁶

The expansion in leisure tourism of the 1880s was most evident in the centres closest to the main areas of commercial and industrial development, the Czech lands, parts of Transylvania and the areas around Vienna and Budapest. The popular tourist resorts in the Alpine regions catered for visitors across the social spectrum with a range of differently priced types of accommodation and facilities. The process of social emulation encouraged the new middle classes to visit the fashionable resorts and stimulated their growth while, at the same time encouraging the social elites to distinguish and separate themselves from their imitators by staying in small select resorts further south where they could get away from the crowd or to travel further afield, perhaps to the new Mediterranean resorts. When James Bryce visited the mountain resorts of Zakopane in the late 1870s he found them relatively undeveloped. He wrote of the latter’s:

74 Macpherson, *The Baths and Wells of Europe*, 1873, p. 178.

75 Ponsonby, *Recollections of Three Reigns*, 1975, p. 28.

76 Baedeker, *Austro-Hungary*, 1905, pp. 243, 251; *Österreich-Ungarn*, 1907, pp. 303, 314.

gay little life that ebbs and flows round its green and terrace and coffee-house, its gossips and dances enlivened by the stirring strains of gypsy fiddles, its political declamations, and the great silent gloom of the environing forest.⁷⁷

40 years later Mrs Lion Phillimore in search of somewhere *off the beaten track* declared of Tátrafüred, "It is a large fashionable watering place on the Hungarian side of the Tátras. We had decided before leaving England that nothing should drag us to Smecks (Tátrafüred)."⁷⁸ Towns like Ischl began to attract the kind of visitors that repelled others who preferred somewhere quieter or more select. Mme de Laszowska (Emily Gerard) comment in 1896, "It is a lovely place but rather too fashionable for my taste and the Emperor spends the summer here which of course brings [shoals] of grandees in his train ... however the place suits my husband very well ... music, reading novels and flat shady walks."⁷⁹ Many others felt the same way about Karlsbad. As the competition to attract visitors grew stronger smaller establishments such as Giesshübl-Sauerbrunn used the contrast in size as a selling point. The latter's publicity material emphasised the informal quality of its social life which permitted visitors to "select those with whom their tastes induce them to form a closer acquaintance without falling into the dreaded cliquism of other watering places". "Visitors can elect from any of their number a Committee to arrange about amusements, and the daily programme is set forth on the black notice board."⁸⁰

Foreign visitors invariably commented on the numbers of Jewish visitors such as the Polish and Russian rabbis who frequented Karlsbad and Marienbad in summer and Meran in the winter. Palmer observed:

Even the ubiquitous Jew is not wanting; great financiers from Vienna or Pest, and their less influential but more picturesque confrères from Galicia, unmistakable in their long shiny gabardines, as well as from Prague, and all parts of Bohemia and Austria.

He noted:

Karlsbad is essentially an aristocratic town, and so the lower class of Jews have to take the waters in the early morning, an hour or two before the regular opening for the fashionable visitors.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Bryce, *Memories of Travel*, 1923, pp. 108-109.

⁷⁸ Phillimore, *In the Carpathians*, 1912, p. 37.

⁷⁹ Letter to Blackwood's, 1896, p. 271.

⁸⁰ North-German Lloyd: *Guide Through Central Europe*, 1896, p. 249.

⁸¹ Palmer, *Austro-Hungarian Life*, 1903, pp. 126-127; Monroe, *Bohemia and the Čechs*, 1910, p. 432.

To foreign observers the ethnic variety of the guests encountered in the principal spas was one of their most striking features. Away from the big international resorts this was less marked. The ethnic profile of visitors to Bad Bardfeld differed markedly from that of Veldes in Carinthia or Borszék in Transylvania; it also differed from those of Baden, Abbazia or Luhatschowitz as the Monarchy's domestic tourist system began to display the influence of ethnic topography. German speakers from Vienna and the industrialised regions of Saxony and Bohemia were attracted to the lakes and mountains of the Tyrol and the Salzkammergut while the spas of the Tatra were popular with Poles from the north. Magyars from Budapest frequented the spas around Lake Balaton and the Styrian and Carinthian resorts were popular with the Austrian nobility and state bureaucrats. Herkulesbad in the Banat was frequented by the inhabitants of Transylvania, Roumania and the Balkans in their distinctive costumes.

The particular nature of the treatments offered by a spa also influenced its social profile, affecting the gendering and age range of the guests. Franzensbad, for example, was one of a number of *ladies' spas* since it specialised in various kinds of female complaints. Teplitz had a reputation for its peat baths and army officers while aristocratic Bad Gastein acquired a reputation as an old person's spa, many of them military men of rank.⁸² Like Johannisbad it often took patients who were convalescing from stricter treatments elsewhere in the region and who frequently took advantage of the reduction in rates out of season. These differences influenced the particular patterns of life in the individual spas. As Dr Linn commented of Gastein, "Life is quiet here, as the frequenters are nervous and elderly people, and the object is soothing and sedative treatment. The music is good."⁸³ The strictness of the medical regimes in many of the Austrian and Bohemian spas tended to make life there relatively quiet and sedate by the standards of some western spas. Even in Karlsbad most people rose early to drink the waters and were in bed by nine. However there was still plenty to do. One visitor to the town commented:

real patients, of course, hardly form half the annual visitors to Karlsbad. Many are accompanied by their families, and though all boisterous excitement is tabooed by the medical authorities, who are here supreme, a vast amount of mild flirtation is carried on. Shopping, too occupies no little time, and on every side are to be seen specimens of the rapidly growing Czechish arts and manufactures ... while all the day through the strains of a band are floating in the air, playing at one or other of the numerous hotels and cafes.⁸⁴

82 Of the spa's reputation for rejuvenating its curists one observer commented that "the specimens we observed must have been in the early stages"; Gilbert/Churchill, *The Dolomite Mountains*, 1864, p. 8.

83 Linn, *The Health Resorts of Europe*, 1910, p. 44.

84 Palmer, *Austro-Hungarian Life*, 1903, p. 128.

The romantic diversions which traditionally formed part of with spa life persisted for although the close regulatory control of the spas meant that they were no longer the arenas of licence associated with the bathing institutions of earlier days such as the bath girls of Budapest, the many cafés and arbours of the large sophisticated spas often harboured various forms of romantic and amorous activity.⁸⁵ One guide-book described Vermin near Meran as a “trysting resort” for young people while Herkulesbad had a reputation for encouraging romantic and sexual encounters, its Lovers’ Walks providing the necessary privacy as:

ordinary *Kurgäste* do not believe in taking walks and spoiling the look of their smart footgear, when they can sit all day in a garden listening to bands, reading the papers, and flirting with each other, ad lib., though they admire forests and mountains.⁸⁶

Many spas continued to perform same kind of social functions which places like Rohitsch-Sauerbrunn in Croatia had previously fulfilled for the traditional elites of the transdanubian area.⁸⁷ This was particularly the case in the eastern territories of the Monarchy where small spas still provided seasonal arenas of sociability and marriage markets for the rural gentry, the lesser nobility, the social elites of the small towns, the new bourgeoisie from adjacent regions across the imperial borders, the state bureaucrats and army officers and their families garrisoned in the outlying parts of the Empire. In the larger resorts the presence of urban flâneurs on the promenades brought a new intensity to the pleasurable activity of scrutinising and being scrutinised as did the Jewish marriage brokers and their clients who frequented Karlsbad and Marienbad.⁸⁸

In the more fashionable spas elegant shops selling smart clothes and souvenirs encouraged visitors to engage with a consumption-orientated culture. Many of the shopkeepers who traded in the spas of west Bohemia came from Prague, Vienna or Berlin, returning home at the end of the season: Markus Munk who owned a postcard shop in Vienna, also rented a shop for the season in Marienbad.⁸⁹ The *Wiener Werkstätte* opened an outlet for its luxury arts and crafts goods in Karlsbad while images of the town adorned its postcards (Figure 8). Even the smallest spas sold postcards, souvenirs, bottled water and other elixirs. In large resorts like

85 For examples of literary evocations see Schnitzler, Vienna 1900, n.d; Aleichem, Marienbad, 1982, while the initial action of Sacher-Masoch’s *Venus in Furs*, 1971 is set in an imperial watering place. For a discussion of attitudes to sexuality and nakedness in relation to bathing see Eder, 1995, pp. 215-225.

86 Browning, *A Girl’s Wanderings in Hungary*, 1896, pp. 273-274, observed “the Adams and Eves around me”, and “the trail of the serpent” over this “Paradise”.

87 Klenke, *Das Taschenbuch für Badreisende und Kurgäste*, 1873, p. 561.

88 Aleichem, *Marienbad*, 1982, pp. 65-69. This epistolary novel of marital intrigue and misbehaviour amongst the Jewish guests from Warsaw and Odessa also gives a vivid picture of the various forms of consumption tempting visitors to Marienbad.

89 Private communication from Professor Bill Freund (Durban).

Meran special tourist newspapers listed the sights and publicised balls and carnivals, flower battles, confetti fights and beauty competitions. The influence of foreign guests was evident in some towns as the authorities responded to their expectations and cultural habits, tastes and customs.⁹⁰ In the spas frequented by British and American visitors hotels boasted of their central heating and electric elevators while the daily routine included many essentially British customs and pastimes such as bridge parties and afternoon tea, along with golf courses and tennis courts, while the growing passion of the European upper classes for winter sports extended the season as tennis courts were turned into ice-rinks.⁹¹

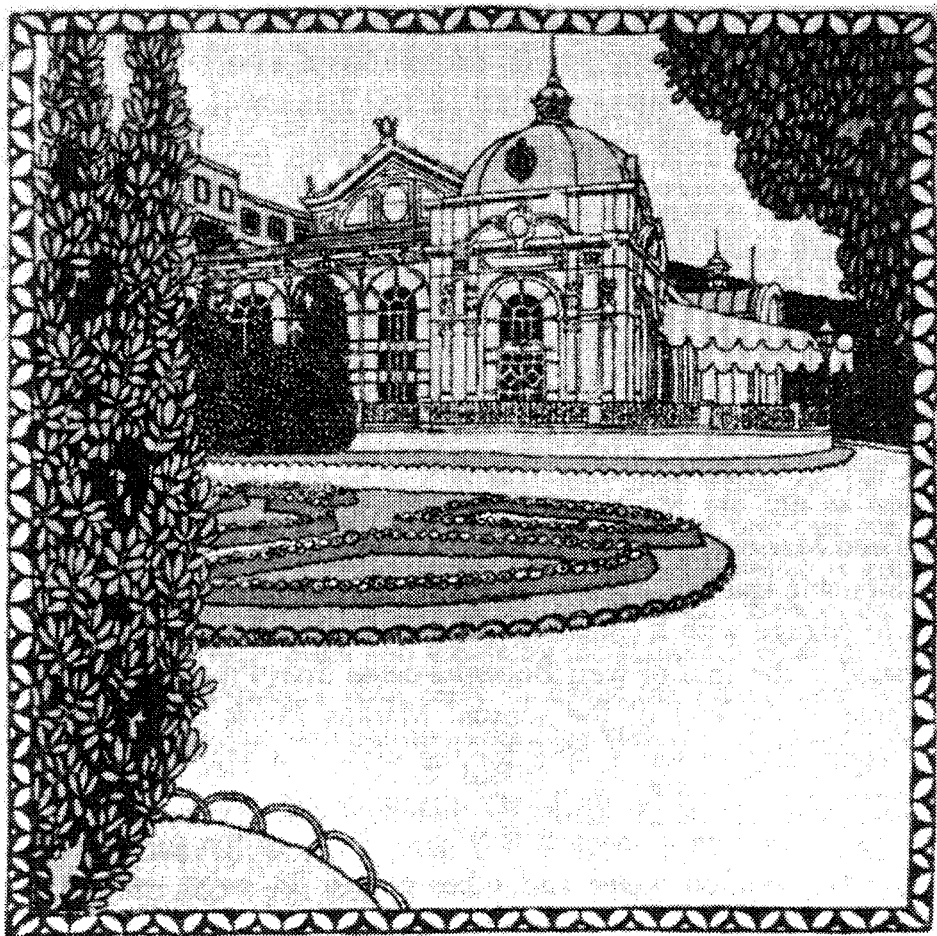


Figure 8: Karlsbad – Pump room. Leopold Drescher for the *Wiener Werkstätte*.
Postcard (Author's collection)

90 According to the North-German Lloyd Guidebook, 1901, p. 294, "every wish of an exacting and pampered public is anticipated here by an ever watchful management".

91 Baltzarek, *Fremdenverkehr und Sport*, 1985, p. 167.

In the early twentieth century the spa towns and resorts showed that they clearly understood the need for publicity by their support of the regional trade and tourist associations. This was especially noticeable in the alpine regions where tourism was replacing older forms of industry as a significant source of income. In Austria, while financial support for tourism came from local and regional authorities and the railway companies, the only direct state support came from the Railways Ministry, founded in 1896 and responsible for timetables, publicity and information which it dispensed via its domestic and foreign travel bureaus which included one in London targeting the British upper classes.⁹² It was not until 1908 that the Austrian Ministry of Labour was given a budget to support tourism.⁹³ Things were even less advanced in Hungary although the government saw tourism as a means of enhancing both its national prestige and its income, setting up a government board for this purpose in 1887 to study ways in which tourism could be promoted by improving transport and publicity. The International Ticket Office of the State Railways, founded in 1884, had included publicity for thermal and medicinal baths in its responsibilities but although the new system of zoned railway tariffs succeeded in stimulating domestic travel by 1895 most foreign visitors still went no further than Budapest.⁹⁴ By 1902 however the setting up of a central office involving the National Balneological Society acknowledged the potential of health tourism as did the other governmental initiatives such as the building and equipping of two spa hotels in the Tátras.

Resorts which had invested heavily in new facilities needed to attract and retain a regular flow of visitors. The great bulk of the Empire's spas towns however, apart from a few in the western Alps, were still peripheral to the main flow of Europe's tourist traffic. The growing number of advertisements for Austro-Hungarian spas in the western press, particularly that of Britain and Germany⁹⁵, in guidebooks aimed at transatlantic travellers and spa handbooks shows how anxious the industry was, as local and regional competition became stronger, to attract more foreign tourists (Figure 9). Thomas Linn's *The Health Resorts of Europe* was first published in 1904 while the *Queen Book of Travel* was a compendium of travel information published in the previous decade and updated annually.⁹⁶ Both contain many advertisements and give some idea of the reputation enjoyed by the Empire's spa resorts abroad although there was little attempt made to distinguish the new kind of health resort from the more traditional kind of medical spa.

92 Jordan, *Die Entwicklung der Fremdenverkehrsströme in Mitteleuropa*, 1990, pp. 144-171.

93 Bernecker, *Die Entwicklung des Fremdenverkehrs in Österreich*, 1968, pp. 236-238.

94 Katus, 'Transport Revolution and Economic Growth in Hungary', 1983, p. 199; Vida, *Spas of Hungary*, 1984, p. 29; Böröcz, *Leisure Migration*, 1996, pp. 64-65.

95 See Mackaman in this volume on thermal nationalism in France.

96 Linn, *The Health Resorts of Europe*, 1910; Cox, *The Queens "Newspaper" Book of Travel*, 1905, 1909 or 1914; see Barke/Towner, *Exploring the History of Leisure and Tourism in Spain*, 1996, pp. 8-9.

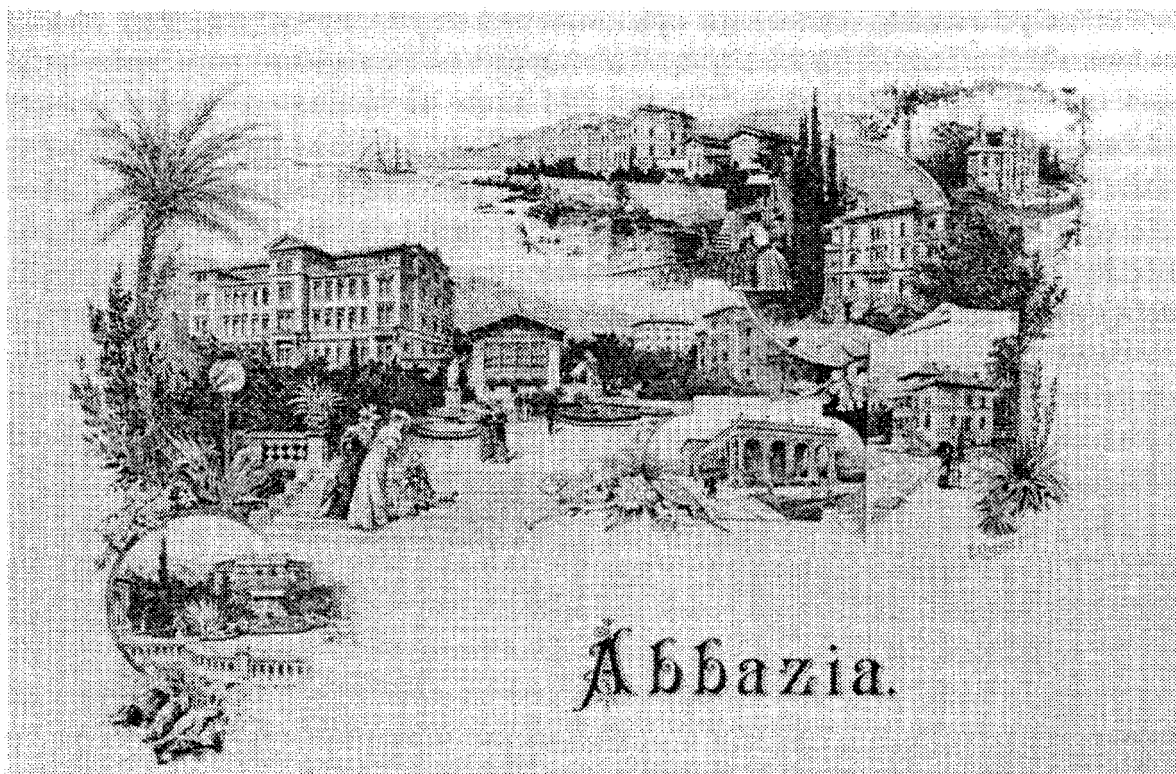


Figure 9: Advertisement for Abbazia by: Graner, Ernst, Hamburg American Guide through Europe, 1901, p. 478

Trade exhibitions were one of the main vehicles for promoting tourism and boosting exports. Some sectors of the bottled water industries were particularly anxious to export their products abroad as local demand fell off as the domestic water supplies improved.⁹⁷ Accordingly both governments were persuaded to participate in the staging of national exhibitions in London, Austria in 1906 and Hungary two years later. The promotion of the spa trade was an important feature of both exhibitions.⁹⁸ Unfortunately, while the Austrian Tyrol was becoming very popular with the British upper classes, the Hungarian Railways were not yet part of Cook's system so that, despite widespread sympathy for the Magyars, most British tourists viewed Hungary as a place for *travel* rather than recreation.⁹⁹

97 Lukacs, Budapest 1900, 1988, p. 61.

98 Catalogue of the Royal Austrian Exhibition, 1906. Berichte über die Österreichische Ausstellung, 1907. For the exhibition see Steward, *The Potemkin City*, 1999.

99 Hartley, *Eighty-Five Not Out*, 1939, p. 210; Report on the Hungarian Exhibition, London, 1908.

Number of spas resorts in Europe 1905-1914:

	Linn 1910 spas	Queen 1905 resorts	Queen 1909 resorts	Queen 1914 resorts
France	70	71	54	64
Germany	24	24	22	35
Italy	4	21	23	21
Switzerland	20	21	34	53
Austro-Hungary	33	31	15	20

The Issue of Cultural Identity

The desire to attract visitors made the different regions more aware of their own distinctive features as they tried to attract the attention of tourists by emphasising the unique aspects of their culture and environment. This was especially true of places like the alpine regions which were particularly affected by the competition for tourists and changing fashions in holiday making. The local architecture and regional customs were constantly identified as tourist spectacles, written about in guidebooks, pictured by artists and photographers and endlessly reproduced and circulated in postcard form. By the end of the century the climate of rising nationalism and regional resistance to control from the political centres of Vienna and Budapest, turned these attractions into unifying symbols of a region's political and cultural identity.¹⁰⁰ In the Tyrol, a region with a well-established sense of its own historical and cultural identity, representations of the latter through folk-song and dance and monuments to the Tyrolean patriot, Andreas Hofer, were used to attract tourists. The peasant plays of Meran acted by peasants, dealing with Hofer and other local heroes, were supported financially by the city, the *Kurhaus* administration and the Bozen-Meran railway.¹⁰¹ However, while Hofer was loyal to the Habsburgs, the adulation of his memory by the Tyrolean tourist industry strengthened the region's sense of its own cultural unity and its difference from other parts of the Monarchy.¹⁰²

With the growth of nationalism the forces of fragmentation within the Monarchy grew more powerful as tourism encouraged the different ethnic groups to lay claim to their own distinctive histories and cultural identities. This was particularly evident in the eastern territories, especially in Hungary where the political concessions to the Magyars in 1867 at the expense of the other ethnic groups had created the greatest potential for division. The growth of tourist resorts

100 For discussions of the impact of tourism see Boissevin, *Coping with Tourists*, 1996.

101 MacCracken, *The Tyrol*, London, 1905, p. 119.

102 This contributed to the resistance to its annexation after the First World War.

along the Adriatic coast for example reinforced not just awareness of the distinctive nature of the region's culture but also its political significance.¹⁰³ The rise of Zakopane in the 1880s was an example of a spa settlement where its cultural distinctiveness, while attractive to tourists, also functioned as a marker of the region's political difference. Polish intellectuals from nearby Krakau, influenced by romantic patriotism, saw in its indigenous material culture and the vernacular architecture of the mountainous Podhale region the essence of an unspoilt and authentic *Polishness*. They encouraged the Polish bourgeoisie and intelligentsia to visit the settlement which soon became popular with Poles from all three areas of the partitioned homeland while the *Zakopianski style* was recast to form the basis of what was acclaimed as *Poland's national style*.¹⁰⁴ This was copied in many of its new buildings like the home of the painter and critic Stanislaw Witkiewski built in a style derived from a Gorale cottage. It was unsurprising therefore that the importation of the alpine chalet style, often used for new villas in many of the smaller rural spas, caused considerable dismay and controversy.¹⁰⁵ Similar lines of development occurred at Luhatschowitz, a resort traditionally favoured by the old Moravian elites. In the early twentieth century this resort was redeveloped in accordance with designs by the Slovakian architect Dusan Jurkovics (Figure 10). Deeply influenced by the vernacular wood architecture of his native Moravia, Jurkovics produced half-timbered villas which were the Slovakian equivalent of those at Zakopane, embellished with elements of Czech modernism. Half timbered buildings also surrounded the Kurplatz which now contained an octagonal music pavilion and colonnade linking the various pavilions in which the waters were taken to a restaurant and a festival hall. Moravánsky suggests that the folk-loristic associations evoked by this kind of architecture with its innocent, fairy-tale quality, supported the fiction, exemplified by so many spa resorts, of their remoteness from urban civilisation and embodiment of a *natural* way of life, legitimising forms of contact that would be usually be considered *immoral* in an urban setting.¹⁰⁶ By the same token, this kind of style clearly differentiated these resorts from those which employed the uniform Italianate style which was so emblematic of the Habsburg town.¹⁰⁷

103 Hartley recounts the offence he caused in Agram when trying to organise the Hungarian exhibition in London by printing posters about it in Hungarian rather than Croat; Hartley, *Eighty-Five Not Out*, 1939, pp. 201-202. The aggressive Magyarisation policies adopted by the Hungarian government made matters worse. Greater regional and cultural autonomy was permitted in Austria. For a survey of recent literature on the relationship between the regions and Vienna see Bowman, *Regional History and the Austrian Nation*, 1995, pp. 891-894.

104 Crowley, *National Style and Nation-State*, 1992, pp. 20-25.

105 Moravánszky, *Competing Visions*, 1998, p. 248; Crowley, *National Style and National State*, 1992, pp. 18-25.

106 Moravánszky, *Competing Visions*, 1998, p. 250. Howard, *Art Nouveau*, 1996, p. 88-89; see also Mansén, *An Image of Paradise*, 1998, p. 511.

107 Kaufman, *Court, Cloister and City*, 1995.



Figure 10: Luhatschowitz after its redevelopment. Postcard, 1911 (Author's collection)

In the early twentieth century the recognition of ethnic and cultural identities and the pressure for regional self-determination made political life in the Monarchy increasingly difficult. As ethnic tensions grew they were manifested in the patterns of the tourist flows. Linguistic, ethnic and cultural identification increasingly influenced the choice of holiday destinations as the Hungarians patronised their own resorts rather than those of Austria. The Czechs middle classes who were growing increasingly unhappy with German dominance in educational and cultural matters, could afford to travel to the coastal resorts of the warm, Slavic lands. In Luhatschowitz members of the Slovakian intelligentsia gathered to discuss the possibilities of Czech-Slovak co-operation.¹⁰⁸ German-speaking Viennese felt more comfortable in the German regions of the Tyrol and the Salzkammergut than in the other regions of the Monarchy of which their city was still the administrative and symbolic capital. Elsewhere in northern Hungary the annual influx of visitors from Budapest and its surrounding districts accentuated the differences between the Magyar elites and the Slovakian peasantry. In Austria the growth in anti-semitism in the pre-war years led many to avoid resorts known to be popular with the Jewish middle classes. The growth of social divisions in Hungarian society as well as its growing anti-semitism encouraged the Jews and the gentry to frequent their own individual establishments such as those at Bad Bartfeld and around Lake Balaton,

¹⁰⁸ Kirschbaum, *A Short History of Slovakia*, 1995, p. 144.

which, in their turn, were avoided by the old aristocracy.¹⁰⁹ In the southern resorts the Croats avoided the Magyars while in Borszék, the various ethnic groups adopted different seasonal patterns, the Romanians appearing only after the German Seklers had left.

Conclusion

By the outbreak of the First World War the tourist cultures of the principal spa towns of Austria and Hungary had developed many common features and possessed many of the amenities which accommodated modern life-styles and forms of leisure activities based increasingly on consumption. The contribution which the influx of spa guests made to the economies of the surrounding regions was clearly greatest in localities which were relatively undeveloped or where health and leisure tourism were year round industries. Where urban visitors were attracted to small spa towns and colonies in places whose regional economies and urban cultures were still relatively primitive compared with much of Europe, health tourism became a factor which contributed to the diffusion of urbanised habits and attitudes across the Monarchy. However, it was also true, particularly in parts of eastern Hungary, that the development of forms of urban life within small spa settlements could also accentuate the distinctions within a district by creating a sharp contrast with adjacent areas untouched by these developments while the deeply conservative peasants were often hostile to outsiders and to change.

The spread of commercialized and modernising forms of urban culture also contributed to the growing awareness of ethnic, linguistic and cultural differences as interaction between the inhabitants of the resort towns and their visitors made them both increasingly conscious of their own unique cultural identity. Throughout the Monarchy the development of the spas and their associated tourist cultures reinforced the growing self-consciousness of the regions in which they were located. The further the regions were from the political and cultural life of the official centres of Vienna and Budapest, the stronger was the effect. For even as the growth of tourism strengthened the forces of convergence within the Monarchy, the growth of spa cultures differentiated by the ethnic and cultural identities of the participants contributed to the formation of the new political and cultural networks forming across and within the borders of the Monarchy in Galician Poland, Transylvania, Slovakia and the Slovenian and Croatia territories and supporting the growth of the divergent forces which threatened the decaying Habsburg Empire.

¹⁰⁹ Lukacs, Budapest 1900, 1988, p. 103. For a discussion of changes in Hungarian social structure see Ránki, *The Development of the Hungarian Middle Class*, 1993.

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Tourism in Late Imperial Austria

The Development of Tourist Cultures and Their Associated Images of Place

Today the tourist industry is central to the Austrian economy. During the interwar period mass tourism emerged as one of the country's most important industries when, no longer imperial and much reduced in size, Austria struggled to reestablish itself industrially and commercially. Even before the First World War, however, parts of imperial Austria were becoming dependent on the presence of tourists to the extent that they displayed signs of the kind of tourist culture that flourished in neighboring Switzerland and Bavaria. The most popular tourist areas, particularly the alpine and subalpine lands, soon felt the need to maintain a regular flow of visitors and responded to their expectations by providing them with suitable services and facilities.

In the early twentieth century the increasing competitiveness of the tourist industry encouraged the different regions and localities to emphasize the different features of their environment and culture that they felt to be most distinctive, a process that helped to reinforce awareness within Austria of internal regional and cultural differences. Their existence was unsurprising in a country that encompassed not just the alpine and subalpine regions of the Tyrol and Lower and Upper Austria, but also Polish Galicia and Bukowina, parts of northern Italy, the crown lands of Bohemia and Moravia, and the southern Slavic lands of Slovenia and Croatia. Furthermore, at the end of the nineteenth century cultural identity was a controversial and contested issue in many of these regions as the growth of nationalism led the different ethnic groups to advance claims to their own distinctive histories and cultural identities.¹ A study of the early growth of tourism, particularly in the German-speaking lands of Austria, suggests that its nascent tourist cultures played a role in the forging of these identities while, at the same time, contributing to the forces of fragmentation that threatened the Habsburg Empire.

Even before the days of systematic marketing and image promotion, touristic images of places were instrumental in attracting visitors.² In the third

quarter of the nineteenth century Austria, unlike Switzerland, France, and Italy, was not generally regarded as a tourist destination. Most western tourists still thought of it as part of the Habsburg Monarchy and therefore geographically and culturally remote.³ By the early twentieth century the contribution of foreign tourists to the economies of the alpine regions and Vienna was sufficiently important to spur the industry and its associated organizations to make efforts to increase their share of the market. Generalized touristic images of Austria began to circulate in the commercialized public spaces of foreign trade exhibitions and the travel agencies. Literature aimed at tourists depicted Austria as a land of alpine scenery, picturesque urban landscapes, royal glamour, and cozy (*gemütlich*) charm: images that were at odds with other ways in which the empire was often seen abroad. The attempts of the travel industry to select the aspects of Austria that would appeal to foreigners found a parallel in the attempts of the ruling Habsburg dynasty to generate support for itself and its self-imposed "mission." This it attempted to do by presenting itself as the center of a united "family of nations," an image that was constantly invoked in a vain attempt to suppress general awareness of the growing conflicts caused by the demands for cultural and political autonomy made by the different ethnic groups.⁴

THE EARLY DAYS OF AUSTRIAN TOURISM AND THE GROWTH OF TOURIST CULTURES

The building of the central European railway systems in the 1840s made it possible for people to travel in relative comfort for purposes that included leisure and entertainment. By facilitating the rapid growth of the region's economic infrastructure, the railways accelerated social changes and supported newly developing patterns of culture and leisure among the middle classes. It was these that gave rise to the major expansion of tourism in the 1880s when it began to develop rapidly, a process of growth that continued steadily until the First World War.⁵

During this early period Austria's resorts drew their guests mainly from the domestic tourist system. Like their German neighbors, of whom it was remarked that "an excuse to visit a watering place the summer is essential to life," most Austrians who could afford it paid a summer visit to some kind of spa, and the continued popularity of this habit helped to lay the foundations of the subsequent expansion of leisure tourism.⁶ Initially this was most apparent in rural areas relatively close to Vienna (a major tourist host in its own right), and to the industrializing regions of Bohemia and Moravia. Such foreign visitors as there were came mostly from Germany, many from industrial Saxony, with much smaller numbers from Russia, France, and Britain.⁷ In the

early twentieth century continued growth meant that the major tourist centers of Vienna, the Bohemian spas, the Tyrol and the Voralberg, the eastern Alps and the Salzkammergut, Styria and the Dolomites, the Tatra Mountains, and the Istrian coast had developed many of the features associated with modern tourist culture. The number of foreign visitors also began to rise.⁸

Austria's link with the modern tourist industry began with the International Exhibition of 1873 staged in Vienna. The British travel agent Thomas Cook used the opportunity to make package trips to the exhibition into one of his earliest big foreign ventures, as well as incorporating the German and Austrian railways into his travel system.⁹ However Vienna's difficulties in accommodating visitors to the exhibition showed that the city's infrastructure was not yet geared up to handling large numbers of tourists. The lack of facilities and the extortionate prices charged by greedy hoteliers, curbed only by the intervention of the magistrates, gave rise to much bad foreign publicity. An outbreak of cholera and the collapse of the stock exchange helped to turn the event into a financial disaster.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the size and scale of the exhibition was a source of wonder to its visitors and helped to stimulate the tourist industry to the extent that, by the 1880s, Vienna had become the main center of tourism in Austria. The numerous hotels and restaurants that began to appear near the railway stations, between the inner Ring and the outer ring of the Gürtel, along the Ringstrasse, and in the inner city clearly marked particular areas out as tourist zones.

The same phenomena were evident in many of the leading watering places and resorts elsewhere in Austria as new hotels and villas sprang up to accommodate the wealthy and leisured middle classes as they tried to emulate the lifestyle of the social elites. The latter had traditionally spent their summers at spas or in the summer residences that ringed the leading towns and cities of the Monarchy. Now the advent of the railways made it easy to travel to resorts farther afield, particularly to the new spa and health resort colonies like on Semmering in the eastern Alps or the Wörthersee in Carinthia.¹¹ Forms of tourist culture began to develop in the regions most affected by the influx of tourists, the Salzkammergut, west Bohemia, the Tyrol, parts of Styria and Carinthia, the Tatra and Vienna, a consequence of improvements in the communication networks, the development of economic infrastructures capable of dealing with tourists, and entrepreneurial attitudes among the local inhabitants. In the Tyrol the arrival of the summer holiday-makers (*Sommerfrischler*) helped the old roadside towns along the routes to the Brenner Pass and the Inn Valley to recover from the effects of the collapse of the mines and the disappearance of the transalpine travelers and freighters of former times, now superseded by the railways. Some entrepreneurs bought up dilapidated old castles let out as flats or used as *Pensionen*.¹² In the Tatra Mountains, around the health resort of Zakopane, holiday chalets were built for the grow-

ing number of visitors from industrial Poland attracted by the scenery and pure air.

As the main centers of tourism developed, they were differentiated from each other by the different kinds of services and facilities they offered and the social and ethnic profile of their clientele, who were also distinguished by their place of origin and particular tastes. These features also influenced the tourist cultures of individual resorts. Destinations in the Tyrol, a region popular with all social classes, were differentiated from each other by the social class of their guests and the kind of recreational activities in which they engaged. In some places hotels opened up segregated facilities for humbler travelers and the many casual walkers (*Pässebummler*), who, as the market widened, were distinguished from the summer holiday-makers and the serious mountain climbers (*Hochtouristen*).¹³ Other establishments, catering for the upper end of the market and increasingly sensitive to the expectations of foreign visitors and the standards of hygiene to which they were now accustomed, installed "English plumbing." In the health resorts the local authorities and health commissions encouraged entrepreneurs and joint-stock companies to invest in new buildings and facilities such as sanatoriums, music pavilions, and theaters. Sometimes local conservatism and the clash of interests delayed developments such as the proposed new *Kurhaus* in the suburbs of Meran.¹⁴ Daily rituals of status display had been part of the elite life in the Monarchy since the end of the seventeenth century. Two centuries later these continued to play a role in the social lives of the upper classes who visited the burgeoning health and spa resorts catering for the new leisure tourism.¹⁵ Along with urban-style *flânerie* and the importance of exercise in many cure regimes (even if this amounted to no more than gentle walks), this required the provision and beautification of the appropriate forms of public space such as shady gardens and promenades, paid for out of the taxes imposed on visitors. As sport became popular, facilities for golf and tennis were also provided.

In some resorts the guests changed with the seasons. Mountain and lake-side resorts that were particularly noted for the beneficial effects of their air and climate were sometimes visited by invalids in the winter when rates were cheap. In some places the elite passion for winter sports also extended the season. Visitors from the more remote and isolated parts of the empire valued the urban pleasures of the larger resorts or the sophisticated distractions of Vienna. The latter benefited from its long-standing reputation for culture, gaiety, and social life. The quality of the latter was an important factor in the appeal of the elegant and Bohemian spas of Karlsbad and Marienbad, whose relatively highly developed facilities and smart aristocratic clientele attracted wealthy and important visitors from all over Europe. Meran and Cortina were favored by the British and Americans for their sunny climate and nearness to Italy.

Although middle-class patronage stimulated the growth of many resorts, it also encouraged attempts by the elite classes to maintain the exclusiveness of their holiday retreats by avoiding their imitators. One strategy was to congregate in small and exclusive resorts in southern Austria or the Adriatic; another was to travel abroad to North Africa or the Middle East. Spas associated with royalty like Bad Ischl and Marienbad also attracted a certain kind of fashionable clientele. This phenomenon repelled other visitors who preferred somewhere quieter or more select. Mme de Laszowska wrote of Bad Ischl in 1896, "It is a lovely place but rather too fashionable for my taste and the Emperor spends the summer here which of course brings [shoals] of grandees in his train as well as that odious class—rich Jews who always run after the court like moths round a candle and who manage to infuse irritation and discomfort wherever they are—however the place suits my husband very well . . . music, reading novels and flat shady walks."¹⁶

The growth in tourist numbers was particularly marked in the leading spa towns. While touring Austrian spas in the mid-nineteenth century Dr. A. B. Granville had written of Marienbad that it was "not a Spa of pleasures. It is a lovely and enchanting retreat for invalids."¹⁷ In 1837, the spa's visitors had numbered around eleven hundred. By 1905, when King Edward VII paid the first of his regular visits to Marienbad, the number had grown to around twenty-three thousand. Two years later it had risen to around thirty thousand. The British politician Campbell-Bannerman, a patron of Marienbad from its quiet days in the 1870s, commented on "the extra-ordinary number of 'tainted ladies' present in the American and English contingents." A short car ride away, Karlsbad also benefited from the royal presence as its numbers rose from fifty thousand visitors in 1905 to around sixty-two thousand in 1907.¹⁸ Visitors included a growing number of English tourists, diplomats, journalists, and members of the continental demimonde. The rise in the number of visitors to the Tyrol, attracted there by the desire to escape the Swiss crowds, meant that others began to find its tourist culture too highly developed, preferring the solitude of the Tatra Mountains of the east or the Dolomites to the south.¹⁹

A striking feature of the Austrian tourist industry was the complementary relationship that existed between health tourism and the expansion in recreational tourism. The modern tourist continued to value places as much for their benefits to health as for their other amenities, with the result that health resorts sprang up wherever mineral springs could support them. In Vienna this trend was evident in the growth of health settlements around the city. Kaltenleutgeben boasted two hydropathic establishments, including one that was founded by a disciple of the cold-water cure, Victor Priessnitz, and that was frequented by aristocrats and artists as well as Mark Twain's wife.²⁰ Medically licensed spas and small watering places developed various kinds of leisure facilities, developing rapidly into holiday resorts as they attracted an ever-widening

section of the tourist market. Ordinary leisure resorts marketed themselves as forms of health resort by emphasizing the quality of their air and targeting urban dwellers wishing to cultivate their bodies and fearful of the degenerative effects of urban life. The general preoccupation with health was evident as more and more people made "day trips," bicycling out into the "fresh air" of the surrounding countryside at weekends and visiting bathing places.²¹

It was not just the well-to-do who hoped for cures and wished for health. Throughout Catholic Europe the culture of the "cure" was strongly rooted and was bound up with pilgrimage traditions. As in neighboring Bavaria this was a major factor in generating a tourist culture in which many different sectors of society participated,²² so that when, in the early twentieth century, as more workers received the right to fixed holidays and regular hours, the foundations were laid for their participation in the culture of leisure and entertainment associated with tourism. This phenomenon was visible in major pilgrimage towns such as Mariazell and villages like Weissenstein in the Tyrol where local families provided lodgings for pilgrims. One tourist on a walking holiday recalls the *Gasthaus*, "crammed with pilgrims, who had come from near and far to celebrate St. Michael's day and it was impossible to procure a bed in either the inn or village." Directed to the "clean, if comfortless, monastery," he ate his meals at the *Gasthaus* "among a noisy, unwashed crowd, most of whom were provided with their own food, but drank the wine and beer of the inn, where they spent the night singing and drinking and passed the night together packed in bedrooms, or sleeping on benches in the public rooms."²³ Tiny bathing establishments with basic accommodation, such as Ratzes in the Southern Tyrol, also a pilgrimage center, catered for "the humbler classes." Here seventy beds accommodated small tradesmen from Botzen and their families and peasant farmers from neighboring villages.²⁴

Pilgrimage travel and "cures" were not the only way in which the Austrian tourist industry was indebted to the persistence of preexisting "cultures of travel." Journeymen, students, businessmen, civil servants, and artists had their own established travel practices and related forms of consumption.²⁵ As more social groups experienced prosperity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these older patterns of travel were adapted to incorporate the new commercialized forms of leisure and entertainment associated with modern tourism. This was particularly noticeable in Vienna, which, because of its position as the administrative and symbolic center of the Monarchy and the home of its ruling dynasty, attracted many visitors from within the Habsburg territories. As economic modernization gradually spread across the Monarchy, travel to Vienna for commercial and business purposes increased.²⁶ Some visitors to the city went there because of its reputation as a medical and educational center, while many others visited family and friends.

An important element in the city's attractiveness was its long-standing

reputation as a cultural center. Mark Twain, the American writer and one of the city's better-known visitors, visited Vienna to further his daughter's musical education. Other foreign tourists included the city on their itinerary because of personal contacts, or because of the city's traditional relationship with the grand tour and the persistence of its associated practices and discourses among the German bourgeoisie.²⁷ The architectural monuments of the newly constructed Ringstrasse, built in the appropriate historical styles, the Kunsthistorisches Museum, the Opera House, and the Burgtheater, contributed to the city's image as the home of Mozart and Beethoven and an aristocratic way of life in which the cultivation of art and music was central.²⁸ Other attractions included the city's famous social life, luxury shopping, and entertainment facilities including its many dance halls, theaters, and concerts. Particularly popular with tourists were the wine gardens (*Heurigen*) of the Vienna Woods (*Wienerwald*) and the open spaces of the Prater, easily accessible by the city's new urban transport system with its urban railway and electric trams.²⁹ The numerous cinemas gave a distinctively modern feel to Vienna's attractions.

The main support for the development of the tourist industry came from the various organizations founded for this purpose, particularly the various alpine associations formed in the second half of the nineteenth century. The initial aim of the latter was to promote the love of the mountains, but they soon became important vehicles for the development of tourism. Founded in 1862, the Austrian Alpine Association (*Österreichische Alpenverein*), joined with its Munich-based counterpart in 1869 and seven years later it became part of the powerful German Austrian alpine Association (*Deutsche Österreichische Alpenverein*) in 1876. By 1913 it had around one hundred thousand members, while the Austrian Tourist Club (*Österreichischen Touristen-Klub*) was somewhat smaller. The functions that these tourist associations performed for their members included the building and marking of mountain paths, erecting protective huts, the organizing of alpine rescues, and the provision of mountain guides. Similar associations were established for the Tatra mountains.³⁰ By the turn of the century all towns and villages with summer visitors had their own associations for beautifying the landscape (*Verschönerungs-vereine*), identifying viewing points, repairing dangerous paths, and putting up signposts.

In Styria, the Association for the Promotion of Tourism in Styria (*Verein zur Forderungen des Fremdenverkehrs in der Steiermark*), founded in 1881, operated as the tourist association for the region. Its activities included improving the accessibility of its historic towns, monuments, museums, and collections; setting up an accommodation agency; and helping the police with the management of tourist statistics.³¹ This particular organization, which became a model for numerous others, worked to improve the quality of tourist services

through such measures as the introduction of price lists intended to restrain the greed of hoteliers and restaurateurs. Tourist guides helped visitors to organize their routes, and special newspapers listed sights of interest and events put on to keep visitors amused, particularly during periods of bad weather. In the larger resorts, such as Meran, these included carnival balls, the *corso* promenade, battles of flowers, confetti fights, and beauty competitions. Local conservatism and the clash of interests, however, delayed much-needed developments such as the proposed new *Kurhaus* in the suburbs.³² In Vienna the Association for the Promotion of Tourism (*Verein der Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs*), founded in 1882, provided support for congresses, balls, and exhibitions as well as organized spectacles such as the flower *corso*.

In the early days of the industry the state gave little direct financial support, although the industry continued to look for ways of making its views known to the government. This included events such as a meeting held in Graz in 1884 to discuss the development of tourism in the alpine lands: the representatives of the state railways and post and trade associations participated, and the Ministry of Trade (*Handelsministerium*) was represented. The Viennese Association for the Promotion of Tourism received a subsidy from the municipal council of three hundred florins in 1884, a sum that rose to six hundred florins, supplemented by contributions from public and private sources. Outside Vienna such financial support as there was came from the district and regional authorities and the railway companies that, recognizing the economic potential of tourism, began to cooperate with the tourist associations, included organizing cut-price deals for their members. The privately owned Südbahn railway opened hotels in the resorts adjacent to its routes to the south, on the Semmering for example, and at Abbazia, where it initiated the transformation of a villa colony into a fashionable seaside resort. Initially the only direct state support for tourism came from the Railways Ministry. Founded in 1896, its responsibility for overseeing the development of tourism took the form of dealing with general publicity and timetables. Collaborating with the Ministry of the Interior, the Foreign Office, and the Trade Ministry, it attempted to inform and attract tourists by setting up information and travel bureaus in centers of tourism in Vienna, Innsbruck, and Graz. It reinforced these efforts through newspaper articles, magic lantern shows and lectures, exhibitions, and posters. By the turn of the century the government was sufficiently aware of the relationship between tourism and the balance of trade for the Ministry for Railways to open a travel bureau in London in 1902, aimed at the British upper classes, followed by others in New York, Paris, and Berlin.

As the dynamic of industrial development gradually shifted away from Vienna and the alpine regions toward Bohemia, they became increasingly aware of tourism as a significant source of income and a stimulant to the production and consumption of local arts and crafts. The continuous growth in

the Tyrol's popularity with both domestic and foreign tourists was indicated by the numerous editions of *Baedeker's Eastern Alps*, published by 1911, and its prominence in other continental tourist guides.³³ Lying on the old pilgrim route through the Alps along which German Catholics had traveled to Rome, the area's economy was inextricably linked to that of the whole alpine region. The influx of domestic tourists to the Tyrol and the neighboring Vorarlberg reinforced the economic relationship of these areas with the rest of Austria (their popularity with German tourists shown by the names of the mountain huts throughout the area) and helped to maintain their traditional economic and cultural links with southern Germany.³⁴ In tourist regions that also attracted visitors from over the imperial borders like the Croatian and the Slovenian resorts of the southern Austria and the Tatra Mountains in the east, similar effects were discernible as internal tourist traffic expanded within areas bound together by long-standing economic ties and cultural affinities.

THE INFLUENCE OF TOURISM ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF CULTURAL IDENTITY

As Austria became more urbanized, peasant life became a subject of interest to tourists and specimens of their handicrafts sought after as desirable souvenirs. Some of the cultural consequences of this kind of attention were clearly evident in the Tyrol, an area with a strong sense of its own historical and cultural identity. This was most clearly expressed in the devotion of its inhabitants to Andreas Hofer, a patriot famous for his loyalty to Austria, who was commemorated in various monuments and relics all over the region.³⁵ An annual dramatization of Hofer's life was included in the hero plays of Meran. Initiated in 1884, these were financed by local organizations and were performed by the peasants. They were popular with both local people and foreign tourists, and the scale of the 1909 centenary celebrations revealed not just Hofer's role as a tourist attraction but also the political and cultural significance attached to his figure with the region. The pervasiveness of the Hofer cult was merely one example of the ways in which the region becoming orientated to tourists. Going about their daily business, Tyrolean peasants found themselves the subject of much curiosity among visitors used to different social customs and ideas. Like their Swiss and Bavarian neighbors, they soon became aware of the distinctive elements of their particular culture as well as the commercial opportunities those could generate. As competition for tourists became stronger, there were additional incentives for the inhabitants of the Tyrol and the Vorarlberg to emphasize the unique aspects of their history and culture since these also differentiated them from their foreign rivals.³⁶ At the same time commercialization of the Tyrolean versions of the alpine

yodel and *Schuhplattler* folk dance, performed by professional companies of dancers who traveled through the region,³⁷ and the promotion of Hofer monuments as tourist sites facilitated their use as symbols of regional and cultural identity within a wider commercial and political arena.³⁸

Much the same was true of Salzburg and its relationship with Munich and Vienna.³⁹ Only fully incorporated into the Habsburg crownlands in 1861, this city had a long tradition as a tourist host. Lying on one of the traditional routes from Germany to Italy and the Holy Land, it was well placed to benefit from the growth of tourism.⁴⁰ The city's relationship with Austria was complicated by the strength of its economic, social, and cultural connections with southern Germany, so that its efforts to encourage tourism were also bound up with its attempt to construct and maintain a distinctive identity for itself. Salzburg's two main tourist attractions were its baroque architecture and its relationship with Mozart. It was this fortunate connection that became the central element in Salzburg's career as a major site of cultural tourism. A monument dedicated to the composer in 1842 initiated a flurry of commercial activity that led to a Mozart centenary in 1856. The Mozarteum, the force behind the musical life of Salzburg, generated an irregular series of Mozart festivals beginning in 1877 that were modeled on the Wagner festival held the previous year at Bayreuth.⁴¹ The invention of the chocolate *Mozartkugel* in 1890 rapidly proved to be the ultimate form of tourist souvenir-cum-advertisement.⁴²

One of the more distinctive features of Viennese culture as it was depicted for tourists was the pleasure-loving behavior of its inhabitants. This included both the social life of its elites and the popular culture of the working people. It had long been customary for the latter to make weekend and evening outings to the public houses and wine taverns (*Heurigen*) of the old wine-growing villages on the edge of the Vienna Woods. This habit persisted even when the arrival of the railways made it possible to make day trips to nearby resorts such as Baden and Mödling. By the end of the century, however, the larger *Heurigen* establishments were increasingly oriented toward the tourist market, while many of the entertainments put on in the Prater, the other main center of amusements, were directed toward tourists.⁴³ Part of the Prater was also one of the main centers of Vienna's extensive prostitution industry.

In the early twentieth century the numbers of foreign tourists continued to grow, but the competition became fiercer. The German bourgeoisie still constituted an expanding market, but the influence of nationalism led many Germans to holiday at home in the Black Forest or Bavaria.⁴⁴ The availability of relatively comfortable package trips to destinations further afield to North Africa and the Near East made them popular with the fashionable elites, especially after the German kaiser's trip to Palestine in 1898. As more and more Austrians looked to tourism as a source of income, the strength of the compe-

tition became a matter of concern to the industry, particularly in Vienna, still Austria's main tourist destination. Tourists also constituted an important part of the market for the city's luxury goods so that it was not surprising that it was both concerned and chagrined by its failure to attract more foreign visitors. However, despite the steady growth in its size and the number of its visitors, Vienna could not begin to compete with Paris, long acknowledged as the tourist capital of the world, nor with Berlin and Munich. In 1890 Vienna received a total of 200,000 visitors, while 334,000 visited Berlin. By 1913 the number of foreign visitors had risen to over 100,000, but this still compared unfavorably with the 400,000 who visited Paris.⁴⁵ The Vienna correspondent of the *Times* of London, Henry Wickham Steed, wrote that "for forty years the Viennese have been studying how to draw a stream of foreign visitors to their city and for forty years have been astounded at their failure."⁴⁶

There were several reasons for this of which the most obvious was the city's remoteness from Europe's most industrially advanced regions and its position to the east of the main tourist routes that ran from the north to the south. From the west, Vienna seemed remote in a different way. In 1837 Frances Trollope had written that "there is no country in Europe so little known, and so little understood." This was still true in the early twentieth century as the rise of nationalism made the cultural identity of the multiethnic empire and its components appear increasingly problematic to foreigners.⁴⁷ Commenting on the diversity of the peoples who composed the empire, Steed remarked, "There is, in reality, no Austrian, Hungarian or Austro-Hungarian 'people.' There are the peoples that inhabit the Monarchy, Hapsburg peoples, but no Hapsburg people."⁴⁸ One of the great attractions of Switzerland, the Riviera, and Italy for western visitors was their sense of its "familiarity," stemming from their well-established position as tourist destinations and the reassuring presence of compatriots.⁴⁹ By contrast, imperial Austria appeared deeply unfamiliar, the streets of its principal towns and streets cities revealing the ethnic, religious, and linguistic diversity of its peoples. Even in Innsbruck, in the familiar territory of the western Alps, foreigners were struck by the ethnic diversity of the Austrian visitors and even more so in Vienna, where the distinctiveness of its cuisine and its social, political, and cultural life reflected the fact that, according to the 1890 census, 65.5 percent of its inhabitants had been born elsewhere in the empire.⁵⁰

A persistent and related element in the empire's traditional image was its position on the cultural borderland between Western Christendom and the Muslim East. A visitor to the 1873 exhibition had written of its "cosmopolite nature, a mingling of the modern and the medieval, the East and the West." Both the Muslims of the Balkans and the extensive Jewish populations found throughout the empire were often referred to by Western visitors as "Orientals." Reflecting on his experiences, Wickham Steed wrote that "what is

incomprehensible to every non-Austrian, nay the eternally unintelligible about Austria is the Asiatic in Austria."⁵¹ On the streets of Vienna visitors were struck by the conspicuously exotic and outlandish eastern Jews (Ostjuden) from Galicia marked out by their strange black clothing and speech. In Marienbad, Sir Arthur Ponsonby, equerry to Edward VII, was struck by the "bearded and ringletted Polish Jews, who wore a curious old-fashioned coat and long boots."⁵² An additional factor that colored Austria's traditional image for European Protestants was its association with the culture of Catholicism. In this respect, Vienna, the home of the Habsburgs, traditional defenders of the Catholic faith, was almost as problematic as Rome. Its theatrically Baroque churches exhibited the same qualities of operatic passion and excess that many still associated with the seductive and dangerous aspects of the Latin culture of the Italians, as well as the Slavic, Magyar, and Gypsy peoples of the empire.⁵³ In 1868 the non-Conformist Thomas Cook had informed readers of the *Excursionist* that Viennese Sundays were "a carnival of folly and vice" while reassuring prospective customers that suitable religious facilities were also available.⁵⁴ The implication of these associations, mediated through the literary culture of "Bohemia," was made explicit in the behavior of the French poet Gérard de Nerval, who, on his way to "the Orient" (Egypt) had passed through Munich, where he studied the monuments and works of art, while in Vienna he chased women.⁵⁵ Perhaps more importantly, many liberally inclined Western observers like Cook found Austria's political regime deeply unattractive. By the early twentieth century the country was formally held together only by its relationship to the Habsburg dynasty and an increasingly bureaucratic administrative system. The rise of nationalism and overseas colonialism made the polyglot, multiethnic empire appear increasingly marginal and politically decrepit. Austria's refusal to cede Venetia to Italy in the 1850s and 1860s aroused considerable indignation and much anti-Austrian feeling in the West that persisted. This attitude subsequently gave rise to sympathy for the Hungarians and a small but growing interest in the Czechs.⁵⁶ Even Vienna's reputation as a "city of pleasure," the foundations of which were laid at the Congress of Vienna in 1814, was capable of evoking political distrust. An observer at the time remarked that "that gaiety, that brilliancy, and those pleasures, were contrived more for political ends, than for the apparent purpose of rendering Vienna, for the time, the most attractive and agreeable capital in Europe."⁵⁷ Foreigners continued to comment on the way that the authorities appeared to use the pleasure-loving disposition of the people to maintain their compliance.⁵⁸

The Western view of imperial Austria was at odds with that embodied in official Habsburg "mythology," which justified the empire to its inhabitants by identifying the emperor, Francis Joseph, as a kind of folk hero and the empire as a "family of nations." In Vienna the "myth" received specific expres-

sion in various tourist "sights" linked to the Habsburgs such as the emperor's summer palace at Schönbrunn. Further afield, the royal family were constantly out and about in the empire unveiling plaques and monuments to themselves. The jubilee celebrations that punctuated the emperor's reign were tourist attractions in their own right, constructing an image of the Austrian half of the Monarchy as a peacefully coexisting, heterogeneously picturesque collection of ethnic groups, bound together by the benevolent rule of the emperor. Unfortunately, it was now increasingly unclear what it meant to be an "Austrian" in a country where the only clear and uncontested image of its cultural identity stemmed from its identification with the Habsburg dynasty.⁵⁹ Public spectacles such as the jubilee pageants simply masked the growing problem posed by the conflicting claims to national and cultural identity of different ethnic groups, claims that conflicted with the imperial philosophy of the "family of nations."⁶⁰

In the regions where there was the greatest potential for division, these concerns were supported by the growth of tourist cultures that reinforced, not only awareness of the distinctive nature of regional cultural identities, but also their political significance. In the eastern provinces by the 1880s the spa resort of Zakopane in the Tatra Mountains had become a major site of pilgrimage for Polish artists and intellectuals from Kraków who regarded the vernacular peasant architecture of the region as the epitome of true "Polishness" and the "Zakopianski style" as synonymous with the national style of Poland. A few years later organizations in Kraków involved with the conservation of the city's Polish architectural and cultural monuments drew on established patterns of travel by encouraging Poles to visit them as pilgrimage sites.⁶¹ In Bohemia, by now the economic heartland of the empire, the increasingly self-assertive Czechs continued to resent German dominance in educational and cultural matters. German-speaking citizens in the region felt that they had more in common with the new empire in the north than their Czech neighbors and the other Slavic nationalities that were also demanding greater cultural autonomy. As a consequence, cultural monuments such as the Bohemian Museum (1885–90) and the Czecho-Slavonic Ethnographical Museum, both in Prague, became important tourist attractions within the region that helped to instill in the Czech community an awareness of its own cultural heritage. The founder of the Bohemian Industrial Museum, the Czech patriot Vojta Náprstek, firmly believed in the role that travel and visits to significant places could play in the cultivation of a historic sense.⁶² Visiting Vienna, these Czechs viewed its monuments to German culture, such as the statue of Goethe, in a very different way than the Bohemian Germans who identified with the German language and erected numerous monuments to Joseph II as a symbols of their allegiance.⁶³

By the early twentieth century national feelings increasingly influenced



Postcard c. 1910. Polish peasant women in their distinctive costume for touristic consumption. (Author's collection.)

the way in which Austrians and Germans selected and viewed their holiday destinations. The Vienna edition of Cook's *Welt-Reise-Zeitung* ran a series of articles in 1908 covering all the main regions of Austria. However, the emphasis it placed on the most highly developed tourist regions of western Austria was in tune with the "mental geography" of the great bulk of its market, the German-speaking Austrians, mainly from Bohemia, Vienna, and Lower Austria, who wished to distance themselves from their troublesome Slavic neighbors and who were coming to identify with the part of Austria where they

spent most of their holidays.⁶⁴ The prosperous Bohemian Czechs, whose lands were the most industrially developed part of the empire and who formed a large part of Austria's domestic tourist market, increasingly preferred to holiday in the Slavic lands of the Adriatic coast rather than the alpine areas favored by their German-speaking neighbors, while Poles and Moravians sought out their own numerous spas. National feeling and political events reinforced the inclination of the Hungarian Magyars to patronize resorts in Hungary.

TOURISM AND THE "IMAGING" OF AUSTRIA

Perhaps, because of the popularity of the alpine lands, the diversity of Austria's different regions and the lack of a clear image of the empire itself, an image of Austria began to circulate abroad that identified it culturally with a generalized image of the western alpine lands rather than the relatively undeveloped south or the eastern provinces. One of the most important sources of "touristic" Austria were the verbal and visual images of the promotional literature put out by the travel industry and the different kinds of travel writing aimed at an increasingly differentiated reading publics. In the second half of the nineteenth century visual images were important elements in travel and tourist literature: their presence supported by the emergence of a visual culture manifested in the popularity of dioramas, panoramas, stereographs, and, subsequently, postcards.⁶⁵ Images of the Alps and their inhabitants were popular subjects and helped to shape the expectations that visitors brought to their experiences.

An influx of visitors into any region where tourism was relatively undeveloped meant that its landscapes and their inhabitants acquired a new commercial significance as professional and amateur painters and photographers began to represent them in a way that matched touristic tastes.⁶⁶ Apart from the usual scenes of mountains and genre paintings of peasant life in the style of Friedrich Wäldmüller, a feature of the Tyrol that appealed to artists was its romantic past expressed in the work of landscape artists such as Eduard Zetsche, who specialized in ruined castles and Albion Egger-Lienz, who painted numerous pictures relating to Hofer. By 1900 many of these images were reproduced for the postcard trade.⁶⁷ These developments were replicated in the other tourist regions. Images aimed at tourists invariably featured the kind of urban and rural landscapes that appealed to the modern sense of the "picturesque," a word that liberally splattered any accompanying text. By the early twentieth century this usually meant scenes that were in tune with the general reaction against the unpleasant aspects of modern urban life and that were expressive of a nostalgic interest in, and a regret, for ways of life that were fast disappearing as the waves of tourists swept further up the valleys. In rural

resorts this impulse was evident in the touristic desire to witness scenes of authentic, picturesque peasant culture, now under threat, and a preference for old-style vernacular buildings rather than their more practical but less aesthetically pleasing replacements. To secularized urban visitors the traditional signs of rural Catholicism, with its wayside shrines and pilgrimages, stood for quaint country customs and a threatened way of life.⁶⁸ Images of peasant life like those of the Czech painters Jöza Urbrika and Emil Orlik, viewed out of context, ceased to be explorations of cultural identity and became simply picturesque evocations of rural jollity.⁶⁹

In Vienna, where the new suburbs were fast swallowing up the old villages and former summer resort areas, the pressures of overcrowding and the threat to the Vienna Woods generated many images of the landscape around in and around the city well suited to the tourist market.⁷⁰ The popularity of pictures of Beethoven's home in Heiligenstadt, a version of the old wooden *Pawlatschenhaus* that was a form of vernacular architecture now only found in the suburbs, allied culture to picturesque "old Vienna." The geography of Vienna made it relatively easy to view the city in this way since the heart of the principal tourist zone was its compact, old, aristocratic core. By 1900 its picturesque old streets and squares, undeveloped apart from luxury shops and hotels, were insulated from the aesthetic and social ugliness of modern life by the parks and monuments of the Ringstrasse.⁷¹ Events such as the daily social display of the Kärtner *corso* and the now commercialized *Fiaker* Ball of the carnival season, were evocative of a pleasanter social world. The extreme poverty of Vienna's urban poor, many of them recent immigrants from the eastern part of the empire, remained hidden away in the industrial suburbs of Birgittenau and Ottakring, and they were alluded to only as picturesque additions to the urban scene.⁷²

Guidebooks played a particularly important role in determining a visitor's sense of a place and its significant features, while travel books with literary pretensions often directed visitors to places they might otherwise have overlooked. The town of St. Ulrich in the Gröden valley in the Tyrol received many more English visitors after Amelia B. Edward's account of "Toyland," while other writers praised the beauties of Dalmatia and the Dolomites.⁷³ The appearance of guidebooks addressing different kinds of publics and pockets indicated the broadening of the tourist market, with the popular ones usually the most generously illustrated. The *Wiener Cicerone* and Bermann's *Illustrated Guide to Vienna*, both published in Vienna and aimed at German-speaking visitors, marked out the sights, verbally and visually, so that there could be no mistakes of recognition.⁷⁴ Some of the illustrations in the *Wiener Cicerone*, originating as postcards, were photographs of actors posing as Viennese types, superimposed on other photographs of places on the tourist route, placing them as if in a stage set, turning the city into an extension of its own

theatrical space. Images of this kind contributed to the commodification of the city as its inhabitants were encouraged to "perform" for the now ubiquitous Kodak according to the established stereotypes. Of Salzburg, one visitor remarked that "as a general rule the market folk are good models both for artists and amateur photographers, though some of the younger women coquettishly pretend that they object to be photographed, whilst all the while they are desperately anxious to come into the picture."⁷⁵

Invented in Austria in 1869, produced and retailed by many of the publishing houses, postcards were sold everywhere: a tiny shop in an alpine village could sell up to five thousand cards in a summer. By identifying and dramatizing local activities and customs as well as the seasonal festivals and rituals of *Corpus Christi*, Easter, and Christmas, postcard images divorced them from their everyday context and assisted their absorption into the developing tourist culture. At the same time, circulated and collected throughout Europe, they helped to create an image of Austria's *gemütlich* charm, a kind of mental coziness. In Vienna *Gemütlichkeit* was the quality that the local press ascribed to the "true" Viennese as opposed to "foreigners," thereby evoking a time before the building of the Ringstrasse, an era of wine gardens, cafés, and villages and "characters" in beer houses, now overtaken by the new suburbs with their ethnically diverse populations.⁷⁶ In a similar vein, the *Wiener Cicerone* identified Viennese "types," lamenting that they were no longer as common as they used to be.⁷⁷

MARKETING "AUSTRIA" AS A TOURIST DESTINATION

This system of verbal and visual representation made a substantial contribution to the way in which the regions of Austria represented themselves in foreign exhibitions. By the turn of the century exhibitions of various kinds had come to be important vehicles for displaying a country's progress and for promoting trade and tourism. Although Austria had participated in the big international exhibitions in Chicago (1893), Paris (1900), and St. Louis (1904), the Government had no clear exhibitions policy, nor did the imperial "family of nations" myth fit comfortably into the format of this type of exhibition, which was increasingly used to justify a modernizing overseas colonialism. The situation was aggravated by the restiveness of the non-German nationalities, especially the Czechs, the Serbs, and the other Slavic groups.⁷⁸ It was not surprising, therefore, that the Austrian trade and tourist associations responded enthusiastically to the suggestion that they should participate in the staging of a large trade exhibition in London in 1906 at Earl's Court.⁷⁹

Encouraged by the emperor, the Government gave official support but kept to its usual policy by which the bulk of the considerable cost was paid by

the exhibiting organizations. The exhibition was divided into sections that included a large photographic journey through southern Austria, while the main feature was a reconstruction of a Tyrolean village.⁸⁰ The latter, an Austrian version of an established genre, drew on aspects of alpine tourism popular with British tourists. Set on a picturesque mountainside, the village square was a "meeting place" where "inhabitants" engaged in rural crafts and their visitors enjoyed the inevitable *Schuhplattler* dance. The homely rural values evoked by the vernacular format and the choice of the Tyrolean peasant as the representative of Austria's diverse ethnic groups firmly aligned the country with the alpine "playgrounds" of the West rather than the "uncivilized" borderlands of the East.⁸¹ By contrast, Vienna was represented as a cosmopolitan city of culture, elegance, and high-class shopping facilities: an image supported by the numerous trade exhibits of luxury goods and arts and crafts, and the presence of its major art organizations, including the Secession.⁸² In honor of the exhibition the London art journal *The Studio* published a special issue with illustrations supporting the exhibition's general theme.⁸³ The whirl of high-profile social events accompanying the exhibition reinforced the British image of pleasure-loving Austria and its peoples. The political troubles that beset the empire could not be left behind. The handbook that accompanied the Bohemian section of the exhibition, put on under the auspices of the City of Prague and organized by the Czech patriot Count Franz Lützow, made it clear that the relationship with Austria was not a happy one and clearly set out Bohemia's claims to a separate historical and cultural identity. It also expressed frustration with the traditional image of Bohemia that it associated with the "uncivilized" Slavonian tribes from the east.⁸⁴ The authors made much of the region's links with the Protestant Hussites, evidently hoping that the presence of sympathetic Protestant tourists might be politically advantageous.

Despite the favorable publicity attracted by the exhibition, the traditional image of the empire still persisted in Britain. This was evident in the picture published, just after the exhibition closed, in the *Illustrated London News*. This was a tableau of the peoples of the empire in an alpine setting, in which three discreetly placed "Civilized Gypsies" symbolized the sophisticated and modern city of Vienna.⁸⁵ The caption ran, "A Hard Family to govern: the Emperor Franz Josef's Motley Empire—The extraordinary diversity of nationalities composing the Austrian-Hungarian empire," indicating that the empire's political problems and stereotypes of its more "uncivilized" and unruly inhabitants still influenced the way it was viewed abroad. In Vienna itself the same kind of contradiction was apparent in the discrepancy between the image of the empire, as it was constructed for the 1908 jubilee pageant, and the way in which the different ethnic and national groups now saw themselves. An elaborately theatrical spectacle, the jubilee was a tribute to the "family of nations"



Franz-Joseph's jubilee procession, Vienna, 1908. (Author's collection.)

that encompassed all parts of the Monarchy, every epoch of Habsburg history, and every single ethnic group. The London edition of Cook's *Travellers Gazette* overlooked the jubilee, but its feature on the "City of Pleasure" reproduced all the standard clichés. "It is the art of enjoying life that gives Vienna the air of a City of Pleasure, but of pleasure upon which the Muses have never ceased to smile."⁸⁶ By the end of the month Austria's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina provoked the Western press into denunciations of the uncivilized and anachronistic nature of the Monarchy. The *London Illustrated News* illustrated the leading players in the affair together with pictures of wild-looking scenery and brigand-like peasants.⁸⁷

The increased efforts of the authorities in the main tourist centers to attract visitors indicated the important role that tourism was beginning to play in the economy. In the jubilee year the Austrian government had founded the Ministry for Public Works with a budget of five hundred thousand kroner for the promotion of tourism. The ineffectiveness of this arrangement was such that, by the end of the prewar period, the budget was nearly cut while the Railways Ministry retained all its former responsibilities. The failure of Austria's balance-of-trade figures to improve made tourism even more valuable, especially in Vienna, where the increase in guests could not keep up with the supply of beds.⁸⁸ A civic visit to Vienna by the lord mayor of London generated a lengthy feature in the *Illustrated London News*. Calculated to appeal to

the modern tourist, it emphasized the city's modern amenities, healthiness, and proximity to winter sports facilities with their fashionable clientele. A Eucharistic Congress attracted many foreign visitors, and the following year, copying the rival city's of Munich and Salzburg, the city capitalized on its reputation as a musical center by introducing a music festival, while the Austrian railways followed the Bavarians and introduced American-style observation cars on selected routes.

Promotional activity of this kind, supported by a growing flood of tourist literature praising the beauties of the Tyrol, Dalmatia, and the Dolomites, particularly in Britain, helped to circulate generalized images of Austria as a place of unspoiled mountain scenery, frivolous gaiety, royal glamour, and picturesque peasants. Identifying Austria with its alpine and subalpine regions, they isolated the latter from its troublesome eastern neighbors and formed a counterpoint to the more negative associations still evoked abroad by the idea of the Monarchy, serving to divert the attention of tourists from the serious nature of Austria's social and political problems just as these were becoming more pressing.⁸⁹ For domestic tourists the historical and cultural identities promoted within the individual regions like the Tyrol, Galicia, Moravia, and the Slovenian and Croatian territories helped to give some focus to the notion of ethnic identity that grew stronger as that of the Monarchy grew weaker.⁹⁰ Paradoxically, however, the Habsburg dynasty was turned into one of Austria's greatest tourist assets, although by identifying the regime with scenes of nostalgic picturesqueness it also reinforced the prevailing sense of its anachronistic nature. The popular success of Franz Lehár's operetta *The Merry Widow* (1905) and Anthony Hope's novel *The Prisoner of Zenda* (1909) contributed to the strength of this image, which survived the First World War and the difficult years of "Red Vienna."⁹¹

By then, no longer imperial, Austrian territory was reduced to the German-speaking region around Vienna and the alpine lands of the west. This meant that it was relatively easy for the Austrian tourist industry to reconstruct an image of Austria from well-established and familiar ingredients together with newer themes of climate and happy families. This paralleled official attempts to construct a cultural identity for a country in which, despite the demise of the old empire, regional differences persisted and where cultural identity continued to be uncertain.⁹² After the Second World War the nature of Austria's cultural identity continued to be problematic, a situation compounded by the country's location on the boundary between East and West. Following the end of the Cold War the situation has become even more complicated with the highly controversial issue of Austria's conceptual location within the "imaginative geography" of Europe as yet unresolved and with the nature of Austrian cultural identity still an issue. Nevertheless, for the outside world the country's strongest images continue to be those promoted by the

tourist board and the cultural industries, of "Habsburg Vienna," picturesque Salzburg, and beautiful alpine scenery.

NOTES

1. For a survey of recent literature on the topic, see William D. Bowman, "Regional History and the Austrian Nation," *Journal of Modern History* 67 (December 1995): 873–97; also Ritchie Robertson and Edward Timms, eds., *The Habsburg Legacy: National Identity in Historical Perspective*, Austrian Studies 5 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994).

2. Tourist place-images have usually been discussed in relation to the promotional activities of contemporary tourism rather than in the context of tourism history. See, for example, Tom Selwyn, ed., *The Tourist Image* (Chichester: Wiley, 1996); Gerry Kearns and Chris Philo, eds., *Selling the City: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1993); John R. Gold and Stephen Ward, eds., *Place Promotion: The Use of Advertising and Marketing to Sell Towns and Regions* (Chichester: Wiley, 1994). For a review of tourism history see John Towner, "Tourism History: Past, Present, and Future," in *Tourism: The State of the Art*, ed. A. V. Seaton (Chichester: John Wiley, 1994), 721–28.

3. After 1867 Austria and Hungary formed the two main parts of the Habsburg Empire with the status of quasi states within the framework of an imperial monetary and customs union.

4. James Shedel, "Emperor, Church, and People; Religion and Dynastic Loyalty during the Golden Jubilee of Franz-Joseph," *Catholic History Review* 6 (1990): 71–93; Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs: Embodying Empire* (London: Viking, 1995), 279–84.

5. Jozsef Böröcz, *Leisure Migration: A Sociological Study on Tourism* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1996), 33–52. For the economic development of the regions see David F. Good, *The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984); and for an overview of discussions of the Austrian economy during this period, Max-Stephan Schulze, "Article Economic Development in the Nineteenth-Century Habsburg Empire," *Austrian History Yearbook* 28 (1997): 1–27.

6. John Murray, *A Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (London: John Murray, 1840), 217. See also Jill Steward, "The Spa Towns of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Growth of Tourist Culture," in *European Urban Culture in the Mirror of Art, Health, and Medicine*, ed. Peter Borsay, Gunther Hirschfelder, and Ruth Mohrmann (Munster and New York: Waxmann, 2000).

7. Peter Jordan, "Die Entwicklung der Fremdensverkehrsströme in Mitteleuropa (1910–1990) als Ausdruck Politischer und Wirtschaftlicher Veränderungen," in *Mitteilungen der österreichischen geographischen Gesellschaft* (Vienna) 132 (1990): 144–71, for a discussion of the problems of dealing with the tourist statistics. Also Böröcz, *Leisure Migration*, 62–81.

8. For the concept of tourist culture see John Urry, *Consuming Places* (London: Routledge, 1995), 164. See also Franz Baltzarek, "Fremdenverkehr und Sport," in Schloss Grafenegg, *Das Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josefs- Glanz und Elend 1880–1916*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Amt des NÖ Landesmuseums, 1985), 167.

9. *Cook's Excursionist and International Tourist Advertiser* (London), April 1873, 3–4, May 1873, 4–5. I am indebted to the Thomas Cook Archive, London, for this information.

10. *Excursionist*, May 1873, 4–5, August 1873, 3–4. For the exhibition see the *Art Journal*, July 1873; and Karl Roschitz, *Wiener Weltausstellung 1873* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1989).
11. In 1898 70 percent of the visitors to the Semmering came from Vienna; only 7 percent came from Budapest. See Wolfgang Kos, ed., *Die Eroberung der Landschaft: Semmering, Rax, Schneeberg; Katalog zur niederösterreichische Landesausstellung Schloss Gloggnitz* (Vienna: Falter, 1992), 260.
12. W. A. Bailie Grohman, *The Land in the Mountains: Being an Account of the Past and Present of Tyrol, Its People and Its Castles* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1907), 70–71; W. D. McCrackan, *The Tyrol* (London: Duckworth, 1885).
13. See also J. Matzettner, "Alpinismus und Tourismus (Fremdenverkehr)," in *Alpinism and Tourism and Other Problems of the Geography of Tourism: Proceedings of the IGU Working Group: Geography of Tourism and Recreation* (Frankfurt am Main: Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeographie der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, 1982).
14. Frederick Wolcott Stoddard, *Tramps through the Tyrol*, 2d ed. (London: Mills and Boon, 1912), 209, 228–29. Paul Bernecker, "Die Entwicklung des Fremdenverkehrs in Österreich," in *Österreich—50 Jahre Republik 1968–1981*, ed. Institut für Österreichkunde (Vienna: Ferdinand Hirt, 1968), 236.
15. See Dr. A. B. Granville, *The Spas of Germany*, vol. 2 (London: Henry Colburn, 1837). For a discussion of the spectacular culture of Vienna see Donald D. Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art: London, Paris, and Vienna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 235–50.
16. 1896, Blackwoods Archive, MS 4647, 271, National Library of Scotland.
17. Granville, *The Spas of Germany*, 68.
18. Figures from Karl Baedeker, *Austria-Hungary*, 10th ed. (Leipzig, 1905), *Österreich-Ungarn*, 17th ed. (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1907), but see J. Mikoletsky, "Zur Sozialgeschichte des österreichischen Kurorts im 19. Jahrhundert: Kurlisten und Kurtaxordnungen als sozialhistorische Quelle," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 99, no. 3 (1991): 393–433, for an analysis of visitor numbers. Arthur Ponsonby, *Recollections of Three Reigns* (London: Eyre and Spottiswood, 1975), 28. See also Gordon Brook-Shepherd, *Uncle of Europe: The Social and Diplomatic Life of Edward VII* (London: Collins, 1975), 210–15.
19. James Bryce, "The Tatra," in *Memories of Travel* (London: Macmillan, 1923), 44–140.
20. Carl Dolmetsch, *Our Famous Guest: Mark Twain in Vienna* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 221–23. On attitudes to health and body cultivation see for example, Carmen Feuchtner, "Rekord kostet Anmut, meine Damen! Zur Körper-Kultur der Frau im Bürgertum Wiens (1880–1930)," *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte* 21 (1992): 127–51.
21. Ernst Gerhard Eder, *Bade- und Schwimmenkulture in Wien: Sozialhistorische und kulturanthropologische Untersuchungen* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995).
22. For Bavaria, see Helen Waddy Lepowitz, "Gateway to the Mountains: Tourism and Positive Deindustrialization in the Bavarian Alps," *German History* 7 (1989): 293–318, and "Pilgrims, Painters, and Patients," in *Historical Reflexions* 8, no. 1 (1992): 121–45.
23. Stoddard, *Tramps through the Tyrol*, 63–64.
24. Amelia B. Edwards, *Untrodden Peaks and Unfrequented Valleys: A Midsummer Ramble in the Dolomites* (London: Longmans and Green, 1873), 381–82.
25. Judith Adler, "Youth on the Road: Reflections on the History of Tramping,"

Annals of Tourism Research 12 (1985): 335–54; Nigel Thrift and Paul Glennie, "Historical Geographies of Urban Life and Modern Consumption," in Kearns and Philo, *Selling the City*, 33–48.

26. See Françoise Knopper, "Berlin et Vienne dans les relations de voyage 1900–1930," *Cahiers d'études Germaniques* 24 (1993): 253–66.

27. See Gottfried Korff, "Museumreisen," in *Reisekultur: Von der Pilgerfahrt zum modernen Tourismus*, ed. Herman Bausinger, Klaus Beyerer, and Gottfried Korff (Munich: Beck, 1998), 311–19. Vienna was a lesser center on the British grand tour routes: see John Towner, "The Grand Tour: A Key Phase in the History of Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 12 (1985): 315. Wolfgang Kaschuba, "German Bürgerlichkeit after 1800: Culture as a Symbolic Practice," in *Bourgeois Society in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Jürgen Kocka and Allan Mitchell (Oxford: Berg, 1993).

28. See Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1980).

29. Robert Rotenberg, "Viennese Wine Gardens and Their Magic," *East European Quarterly* 4 (1984): 447–60; Baedeker, *Austria-Hungary*, 65.

30. Bryce, "The Tatra," 82; Baedeker, *Österreich-Ungarn*, 435–36.

31. *Styria, Austria: An Illustrated Guide* (Graz: Official Tourist Office of Styria, 1914). The cult of monuments in the late nineteenth century led to considerable controversy about the respective merits of preservation or conservation. See Margaret Olin, "Alois Riegl and the Crisis of Representation in Art Theory," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1984, 195.

32. Stoddard, *Tramps through the Tyrol*, 209, 228–29; Bernecker, "Die Entwicklung des Fremdenverkehrs," 326.

33. Of the editions of Baedeker, only twelve were English, while thirty-four were German. The 1911 edition could be cut into sections for mountaineers and pedestrians wishing to travel light and were suitable for walking tours popular with members of the Alpine associations. For an analysis of the changing emphasis given to specific regions in Baedeker see Böröcz, *Leisure Migration*, 54–60. Examples of other guides with a strong emphasis on Austrian resorts are the souvenirs published by the shipping companies such as the North-German Lloyd Company's *Guide through Central-Europe and Italy etc* (Berlin: Reichmann, 1896), and the Hamburg-American Line's *Guide through Europe* (Berlin: Herz, 1901). Spa guides such as Thomas Linn's *Health Resorts of Europe*, 10th ed. (London: Reynold-Ball, 1910) also gave paid them plenty of attention.

34. Jordan, "Die Entwicklung der Fremdensverkehrsströme," 150.

35. Stoddard, *Tramps through the Tyrol*, 33–37, 215; "The Andreas Hofer and Liberty War Centenary in Tyrol," *Cook's Traveller's Gazette*, April 17, 1909, 16; Clive Holland, *The Tyrol and Its People* (London: Mills and Boon, 1909), 198–99.

36. "Das kleine walsertal—das Land der "freyen" Walser!" *Cook's Welt-Reise-Zeitung* (Vienna), July 1912, 3–12; Bowman, "Regional History," 878–79.

37. Franz Rainer, a peasant from the Zillertal valley, took his company abroad and was so successful that he was able to return, buy a large old castle, and turn it into a guesthouse (Stoddard, *Tramps through the Tyrol*, 43).

38. The importance these acquired can be seen in the prohibition by the Italians in the interwar period of picture of Andreas Hofer and other heroes associated with the Austrian Tyrol. C. H. Herford, trans. and ed., *The Case of German South Tyrol against Italy* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1927), 70–71.

39. For Munich see Robin Lenman, *Artists and Society in Germany, 1850–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).
40. Georg Stadler, *Von der Kavalierstour zum Sozialtourismus; Kulturgeschichte des Salzburger Fremdenverkehrs* (Salzburg: Universitätsverlag Anton Pustet, 1975); G. Müller, "Salzburg als Fremdenverkehrsland," *Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur* 28, no. 1 (1984): 29–39; Ernst Hanisch and Ulrike Fleischer, *Im Schatten berühmter Zeiten: Salzburg in den Jahren Georg Trakls (1887–1914)* (Salzburg: Otto Müller Verlag, 1986).
41. Michael Steinberg, *The Meaning of the Salzburg Festival: Austria as Theater and Ideology, 1890–1938* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990).
42. Ulrike Kammerhafer-Aggermann, "The Mozartkugel: From a Local Specialty to Austria's 'National Symbol,'" *Finnish Studies in Ethnology* 21 (1993): 46–53.
43. J. G. Kohl, *Austria: Vienna, Prague, Hungary, Bohemia, and the Danube; Galicia, Styria, Moravia, Bukovina and the Military Frontier* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1843), 156–57. For an example of the Prater's attractions see Norbert Rubey and Peter Schoenwald, eds., *Venedig in Wien; Theater- und Vergnügungsstadt der Jahrhundertwende* (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 1996).
44. Northern Germany was served by the Hamburg edition of Cook's *Welt-Reise Zeitung*, in which references to Austria became increasingly infrequent after 1900 apart from the occasional reference to Karlsbad.
45. Baltzarek, "Fremdenverkehr und Sport," 167.
46. Wickham Steed, *The Hapsburg Monarchy*, 4th ed. (London: Constable and Constable, 1919), 206.
47. Frances Trollope, *Vienna and the Austrians; with some account of a journey through Swabia, Bavaria, the Tyrol, and the Salzburg* (London, Richard Bentley, 1838), 138.
48. Steed, *The Hapsburg Monarchy*, 120.
49. For the role of Switzerland in British tourism see Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750–1915* (London: Aurum, 1998).
50. Eda Sagarra, "Vienna and Its Population in the Late Nineteenth Century: Social and Demographic Change, 1870–1910," in *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, ed. Gilbert J. Carr and Eda Sagarra (Dublin: Trinity College, 1985), 187–203. For a French view see Victor Tissot, *Vienne et la viennoise* (Paris, 1878).
51. Steed, *The Hapsburg Monarchy*, xix.
52. Ponsonby, *Recollections of Three Reigns*, 228.
53. See Chloe Chard, "Nakedness and Tourism: Classical Sculpture and the Imaginative Geography of the Grand Tour," *Oxford Art Journal* 18, no. 1 (1995): 14–28.
54. *The Excursionist* (London), August 15, 1868, 15. Piers Brendon remarks that similar depreciating remarks about Paris seemed to add to its attraction. See his *Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Travel* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1986).
55. Gérard de Nerval, *Voyage en Orient*, in *Les oeuvres complètes*, vol. 2 (Paris: François Bernouard, 1867), 77: "Hier au soir, me trouvant desoeuvré dans ce théâtre, et presque seul entre les prétendus civilisés, le reste se composant de Hongrois, de Bohèmes, de Grecs, de Turcs, de Tyroliens de Roumains et de Transylvaniens, j'ai songé à recommencer ce rôle de Casanova, déjà assez bien entame l'avant-veille." For the relationship with the literary imaging of "Bohemia" see Meryl Tyers, "Beyond Words: In Search of Bohemia," *Romance Studies* 25 (1995): 85–97.
56. From 1849 to 1866 Austria maintained a garrison in Venice, to the distaste and

inconvenience of western tourists. See John Pemble, *Venice Rediscovered* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 22–25.

57. *Austria and the Austrians*, vol. 2 (London: Henry Colburn, 1837).

58. Virginio Gayda, *Modern Austria; Her Social and Racial Problems, Italia Irridentia*, 1913, trans. Z. M. Gibson and C. A. Miles (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1915), 295–96.

59. Claudio Magris, *Der Habsburgische Mythos in der österreichischen Literatur* (Salzburg: Müller, 1966).

60. One of the most notable was the emperor's silver wedding pageant in 1878, which involved ten thousand or so participants dressed in the costumes of Habsburg Flanders designed and orchestrated by the history painter, Hans Makart. It revolved around the theme of the benign effects of the reign of the Habsburgs on art and industry. Werner Telesko, "Die Wiener historischen Festzüge von 1879 und 1908: Zum Problem der dynastischen Identitätsfindung des Hauses Österreich," *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 51, no. 3 (1996): 133–46.

61. See Stephan Muthesius, *Art, Architecture, and Design in Poland, 966–1990: An Introduction* (Königstein im Taunus: Verlag Langewiesche Nachfolger, 1994), 79; David Crowley, "Castles, Cabarets, and Cartoons: Claims on Polishness in Kraków around 1905," in *The City in Central Europe: Culture and Society*, ed. Malcolm Gee, Tim Kirk, and Jill Steward (London: Ashgate, 1999), 101–17.

62. Will S. Monroe, *Bohemia and the Czechs; The History of the People, Institutions, and the Geography of the Kingdom, together with Accounts of Moravia and Silesia* (London: G. Bell, 1910). Also Milan Hlavačka František Kolár, "Tschechen, Deutsche und die Jubiläumsausstellung 1891," *Bohemia* 32, no. 2 (1991) 380–411. For an account of the relationships among museums, language, and nationalism see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, 2d ed. (London: Verso, 1983).

63. For the political implications of cultural monuments see Russell Berman, *Modern Culture and Critical Theory: Art, Politics, and the Legacy of the Frankfurt School* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 165. Nancy Meriwether Wingfield, "Conflicting Constructions of Memory: Attacks on Statues of Joseph II in the Bohemian Lands after the Great War," *Austrian History Yearbook* 28 (1997): 151–53.

64. Cook's *Welt-Reise Zeitung* (Vienna), May 5, 1908, and October 10, 1908, 3–9. This trend was also visible in the London edition, which contained articles such as "The Mountain Resorts of the Tyrol," August 13, 1908, and "The Beautiful Salzkammergut District," June 11, 1908. For a discussion of the relationship between Vienna and the rest of Austria see Bowman, "Regional History," 894–97.

65. Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993).

66. Robin Lenman, "Art and Tourism in Southern Germany, 1850–1930," in *Art, Literature, and Society*, ed. Arthur Marwick (London: Routledge, 1990), 163–79. For a discussion of Austrian landscape painting of an earlier period see Walter Koschatzky, *Viennese Watercolors of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1987).

67. Eduard Zetsche, *Bilder aus der Ostmark: Ein Wiener Wanderbuch geschrieben und gezeichnet von Eduard Zetsche* (Innsbruck: R. Edlinger, 1902); *Neuestes Monumental Album von Wien* (Vienna: Halm und Goldmann, 1908).

68. For example, Friedrich Zschokke, *Aus goldenen Tagen: Wanderungen in Österreich* (Zurich, 1916).

69. See, for example, the illustrations accompanying Ludvig Hevesi, "Modern

Painting in Austria," in *The Art Revival in Austria*, special summer issue, ed. Charles Holmes (London: Studio, 1906), xi–xvi.

70. See *Wiener Landschaften* (Vienna: Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien, 1993–94); and Robert Rotenberg, *Landscape and Power in Vienna* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1995).

71. Peter Payer, "Das Stadtbild von Wien ist traurig verändert": Michael Freiherr von Pidolls kritik des beginnenden Automobilzeitalters," in *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 53, no. 4 (1998): 221–32.

72. Roger Paulin, "The Beidermeier Anomaly: Cultural Conservatism and Technological Progress," in *The Enlightenment and its Aftermath*, Austrian Studies 2 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), 88–89. See Koschatzky, *Viennese Watercolors* on the Viennese *veduta* tradition and for the work of Franz Witt and Ernst Graner in Schloss Grafenegg, *Das Zeitalter Kaiser Franz Josephs*, vol. 2, cat. nos. 1.11.3, 26.1.4.

73. Edwards, *Untrodden Peaks*, 361–67; Julius Meurer, *Illustrierter Führer durch die Dolomiten* (Vienna, 1890). Hartleben's *Illustrierter Führer durch Dalmatien* (1912) advertises a German translation of Maude Holbach, *Dalmatien: Das Land wo Ost und West sich Begnegen* (Vienna, 1908).

74. Examples include Dr. Hermann Klencke, *Das Taschenbuch für Badereisende und Kürgäste* (Leipzig: Eduard Rummer, 1875); Julius Meurer, *Kleiner illustrierter Führer durch die Hochalpen Österreichs* (Vienna, 1885–87), and *Kleiner illustrierter Führer durch Salzburg und das Berchtesgadener Land: Mit Illustrationen* (Vienna, 1889); for a typically English view, Holland, *Tyrol and Its People*, 311–16. Moritz Bermann, *Illustrierter Führer durch Wien und Umgebungen* (Vienna: A. Hartleben, 1908); Eugen Guglia, *Führer durch die Stadt Wien und Umgebung* (Vienna: Gerlach und Wiedling, c. 1900); F. Hollrigl, *Wiener Cicerone. Illustrierter Fremden-Führer durch Vienna und Umgebung*, 14th ed. (Vienna: Alexander Dorn, 1907); Julius Meurer, *A Handy Illustrated Guide to Vienna and Its Environs* (Vienna: A. Hartleben, 1906), and *Illustrierter Führer durch Österreich, mit Anschluss von Galizien und Bukowina* (Vienna, 1888).

75. Holland, *The Tyrol*, 191.

76. Ilsa Barea, *Vienna: Legend and Reality* (London: Pimlico, 1992), 318–23. Not all Viennese shared these sentiments. The critic Karl Kraus attacked this view of Vienna as vitriolically as he attacked its press in his journal *Die Fackel*.

77. Hollrigl, *Wiener Cicerone*, 9–15.

78. See Paul Greenhalgh, "Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions, and World Fairs, 1851–1939," in *Studies in Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 73–74.

79. Harold Hartley, *Eighty-five Not Out: A Record of Happy Memories* (London: Frederick Muller, 1939); *Berichts über die österreichische Ausstellung, London, 1906* (Vienna: Staatsdruckerei, 1907).

80. An earlier version had been successfully tried out at the Chicago World Fair of 1893.

81. For the British relationship with the Alps see A. Bürstmueller, "Der Anteil britischer Bergsteiger an der Erschliessung der Ostalpen," in *Österreich und die angelsächsische Welt; Kulturbegnungen- und Vergleiche*, ed. Otto Hietsch (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1968).

82. Catalog of the *Imperial Royal Austrian Exhibition* (Vienna, 1906).

83. Holmes, *Art Revival in Austria*.

84. *Bohemian Section at the Austrian Exhibition; Earl's Court, London: A Guide to the Bohemian Section and the Kingdom of Bohemia: A Memento* (Prague: Alois Wiesner,

1906); Franz Lützow, *The Story of Prague* (London: J. M. Dent, 1902); J. V. Polisensky, *Britain and Czechoslovakia* (Prague: Orbis, 1968), 64–65.

85. *Illustrated London News*, December 15, 1906, 895.

86. *Cook's Traveller's Gazette* (London), August 8, 1908, 9.

87. For a discussion of attitudes to Austria, see Frank R. Bridge, *Great Britain and Austria-Hungary, 1906–1914: A Diplomatic History* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972).

88. Karl Pauschenwein, "Die Entwicklung des Fremdenverkehrs in Wien und Niederdonau," Phil. diss., Hochschule für Welthandel Wien, August 1941, Nationalbibliothek, 67.

89. See, for example, Harry De Windt, *Through Savage Europe* (London: Collins, c. 1907). For a discussion of perceptions of the eastern empire in British literature in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries see Stephen Arata, "The Occidental Tourist: Dracula and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonialization," *Victorian Studies* 33, no. 4 (1990): 621–45.

90. The spa town of Luhatschowitz, for example, was redeveloped into a resort frequented by Moravian intellectuals and writers.

91. Moritz Czáký, *Ideologie der Operette und Wiener Modern: Ein Kulturhistorischer Essay zur österreichischen Identität* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1996).

92. I am indebted to Corinna Peniston-Bird (Lancaster) for information on the way that parallel themes were present in official attempts of the period to construct an image of Austrian national identity. See also Berman, *Modern Culture*, 169.

The Culture of the Water Cure in Nineteenth-century Austria, 1800–1914

Jill Steward

Of the annual exodus to the bathing places of central Europe John MacPherson noted in 1873 that ‘for German families of any means at all it is the holiday of the year which must be kept’ as thousands of people travelled to lake and spa resorts to drink the waters and bathe. In the Cisleithanian territories of the Habsburg Monarchy the commercialization of health and leisure transformed traditional ‘watering places’ in Bohemia and the tourist areas of the alpine and sub-alpine regions into modern holiday resorts offering a wide range of spa treatments as well as recreational and sporting facilities.¹ Participants in this new travel culture still displayed the respect for the therapeutic and prophylactic uses of water that had been such an important element of sacred and secular journeys of the past. This essay examines the way in which discourses and practices associated with the systematic use of water for therapeutic purposes (‘the water cure’) were supportive of the emergence of the new culture of tourist travel established in Austria before World War I.

This culture had certain features in common with the travel cultures of the past, including the use of mineral springs and other water sources for salutary and pleasurable purposes. However, the growing commercialization of health and leisure was at odds with the discourses relating to health that had promoted and sustained past spa culture as well as attitudes supportive of the new health tourism replacing it. In earlier discourses the spas had been represented as places of refuge from the pressures of contemporary urban life. However, the advent of commercialized tourist cultures in many resorts led some observers to characterize them as extensions of the urban society that had brought them into being. By contrast, the ways of life associated with old-fashioned or austere water cures at other resorts still conformed in some measure to the ideals and values that had legitimated and supported spa culture in the past. This implied a criticism of a modern hedonistic culture, increasingly orientated towards individual gratification and the pleasures of consumption.

The particular forms of water therapy, or cure, practised in nineteenth-century Austria and their associated travel culture did not just represent a link between the travel cultures of the past and the tourism of the future, but were tied to important elements grounding the attitudes and expectations shaping modern tourist travel. Discussions of the latter have considered the metaphorical equivalence between tourism and pilgrimage journeys. The anthropologist Nelson Graburn, for example, compares tourism to a 'sacred journey', akin to the pilgrimages of the past, a form of 'ritualised break in routine' that defines and relieves the ordinary (Graburn 19). MacCannell and others focus on the individual's search for 'authentic experience' while the Turners for whom 'a tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist' (Turner/Turner 20), argue that, as institutions, both pilgrimage and tourism in the modern world represent meta-social commentaries on the nature and troubles of contemporary existence (Turner/Turner 39).² For tourism, like pilgrimage, is a form of escape from the everyday and is therefore functionally and symbolically equivalent to other institutions that embellish and add meaning to life.

Historically the relationship between the two is more than just metaphorical, for, as Graburn remarks, the pilgrimages of traditional societies constitute the historical antecedents of modern tourism (Graburn 28–31). However, he makes a sharp distinction between the two, denied by Lepowitz in her study of southern Germany. She points to the many pilgrims of the past who travelled to shrines in the hope of a miraculous cure at a time when medicine was largely ineffective. Suggesting that their travelling behaviours were supportive of 'the cultural history of popular travel', she argues that they contributed to the 'specific expectations about travel prevalent in the general population of a given society' (Lepowitz 23–4).

These comments are pertinent to the study of tourism in nineteenth-century Austria, where similar conditions often applied and where many of the continuities between the travel culture of the past and the new culture of recreational tourism stemmed from the widespread use of water for therapeutic, prophylactic and pleasurable purposes. The practice of 'taking the cure' in a spa pertained primarily to the elite classes, but across Austria the survival at local and regional levels of pilgrimage traditions involving water indicates the retention of a widely held belief in its miraculous powers. Pilgrimage travel helped to lay the foundations for the development of tourism in the more remote areas of the region by creating an infrastructure that could accommodate visitors and was itself responsible for generating a tourist culture in places such as Mariazell, which received over 250,000 pilgrims annually (Baedeker, *South Germany* 373).

Comparisons of pilgrimage and tourist travel identify a commonality of purpose between pilgrims and latter-day tourists, articulated in their mutual wish to be transported to some kind of 'magical' place possessed of regenerative or transformative powers (Graburn 28–31). Such spaces have been conceptualized as 'liminal', 'in-between places'. The Turners draw on a concept derived from Arnold

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van Gennep's classic study *Rites of Passage* to represent pilgrimage as movement in and out of a discontinuity in social space (Turner/Turner 34–9). Rob Shields uses this notion in his analysis of Brighton beach in Britain to bring out the overlapping nature of the two institutions (Shields 93–101). Here, the practice of sea bathing for reasons of health, underpinned by medical texts extolling its virtues (Floyer), had been established since the eighteenth century.³ In his study Shields represents the beach as just such an 'in-between space', a 'goal-sacred site' where the 'Sea cure' was ritually presented to participants as a form of life-changing experience (Shields 84).

The spas and watering places of nineteenth-century Austria can be represented as similar kinds of sites where the hope of regeneration was often accompanied by the quest for pleasure. Visits to such places, particularly in the late spring, were linked to ancient times when the use of water was associated with religion and magic. Roman settlers in the region often built public baths over thermal or mineral springs previously used for religious purposes, while many Christian pilgrimage shrines (some still in use today) were established near water sources noted for their miraculous healing powers (Nolan 16). As new shrines were brought into existence during the Catholic Reformation lapsed shrines often took on a new lease of life as secular bathing places or small spas. Their baths often catered to all social classes and the bathing attendants provided one of the few available forms of basic medical care. Some spas became pleasure resorts providing the aristocracy with brief, seasonal forums for sociability: Carlsbad attracted an internationally famous clientele, including Peter the Great.

From the second half of the eighteenth century changes in spa culture led to a greater emphasis on the therapeutic value of water and, consequently, on spas as distinctive kinds of spaces (Mansén). The Habsburg government encouraged the uses of mineral water for drinking and bathing in order to improve the general health of the people and increase the population, thereby making its territories more productive. New ways of using the waters were generated by scientific interest in classifying mineral waters and identifying their medical properties. In the early modern period spa visits often entailed unlimited drinking and bathing in order to purge the body, but the new medicalized regime introduced by Dr Becher, the chief spa physician of Carlsbad, in the second half of the century emphasized discipline and restraint as improved understanding of, and respect for, the effects of the waters on the bodily system encouraged caution in the way they were used.

Becher regulated his patients' use of the waters by prescribing controlled forms of diet and exercise for them. This required the construction of colonnades and special bathing facilities as well as pavilions for drinking water directly from the spring. Patients for whom the waters were deemed unsuitable, such as those suffering from acute inflammatory disorders that the Carlsbad waters might

aggravate, were often denied treatment or sent elsewhere. Repeated attempts were made to abolish bleeding, purging and other treatments beloved of traditional bathing attendants. Governmental efforts to 'police' public health meant that spa personnel had to be officially licensed and appointed: physicians had to be qualified doctors, and spa commissioners were appointed by the government's chief medical officer. Municipal cure taxes on guests were initiated in 1874 to pay for improvements, a pattern soon followed elsewhere (Mikoletsky).

In the first decades of the nineteenth-century the fashion for 'taking the waters' among the aristocracy and the influence of the Romantic taste for sublime, natural scenery encouraged the founding of spa colonies such as Marienbad that became known for their beautiful, natural settings. Others, like Carlsbad, were redeveloped and expanded to accommodate the influx of visitors. The new-found popularity of the spas was supported by particular attitudes to health and sickness and by discourses relating to health and medicine (Payer). Spa medicine formed a large part of Austria's 'medical marketplace' (Gijswijt-Hofstra, Marland and de Waardt 10–11). The medical establishment's refusal to prescribe medicines that might mask the symptoms of disease encouraged sick people left to the 'healing power of nature' to seek more positive help in the spas.

Nineteenth-century medical handbooks and spa guides reveal a continuity with ideas about health and disease promoted in the popular almanacs, manuals and articles of the previous century, such as the texts by the influential Swiss physician Samuel-August Tissot. Typically they encouraged the view that mental and physical health depended on the maintenance of a correct balance within the bodily system itself, and between the body and its natural and social environment, a principle supporting the diagnosis of conditions like poor circulation and imbalance of the nervous system. Spa medicine is still considered helpful for such complaints in many parts of central Europe (Payer). Tissot's influential *Avis au peuple* (Advice to People) attacked the deficiencies in lifestyle and environment he deemed responsible for the nervous diseases and other afflictions suffered by the social elites. He prescribed a lifestyle characterized by a Hippocratic 'moderation in all things'. Its principal features were exercise, an open-air life, early rising, early nights and attention to the excretory and respiratory processes: practices that became incorporated into the 'cure' regimes widely recommended in Austria as a remedy for the unhealthy effects of urban life.

Turner, in his study of the relation between body and society, suggested that the concept of health functions as a 'manifestation of the dialogue between order and chaos, purity and danger, responsibility and immorality' (Turner 97). Works such as C.W. Hufeland's popular *Art of Prolonging Human Life* expressed bourgeois distaste for the immorality and artificiality of modern urban life exemplified in aristocratic dissoluteness, luxurious tastes and immoderate behaviour. Such texts combined condemnation of disorder and excess with an idealization of the ordered,

cleansing and disciplined life lived close to nature, as at a spa. The opposition of a healthy, purifying, natural mode of being with an unhealthy, polluting, unnatural urban lifestyle conducive to immoderation and bad character remained a feature of medical spa guides until the last two decades of the century.

Life in the spas in the first part of the nineteenth century was shaped primarily by their therapeutic function. Wealthy guests travelling to the fashionable spas observed by James Johnson, the English author of *Pilgrimages to the Spas in Pursuit of Health and Recreation*, may have differed in many respects from traditional pilgrims but, like them, they were committed to a kind of 'breaking with the world' in the hope of achieving some kind of regeneration. The change of place and lifestyle entailed by a spa visit was regarded as important elements of the treatment. So too was 'the sight of others worse off than themselves. Victims doomed to an early grave see recoveries going on all around and never despair' (Johnson 227).

The sense of transition from one mode of being to another was heightened by the ways in which the geographical space of the spa resort was distinguished physically and socially from that of the everyday world. Natural and architectural features of the site itself and the characteristic medical and social routines of spa life marked out and 'framed' the distinctive nature of the place and the experiences it offered. In Carlsbad, for example, the Sprudel constituted a dramatic sight in its own right. The prevailing sense of peacefulness was contrived and accentuated by carefully 'naturalized' and 'picturesque' landscaping, the whole usually contained within some form of park, bounded by pleasant walks and promenades. Along the walls and walks, inscriptions and tributes from grateful patients replicated those adorning pilgrimage shrines.

Spa life was defined by the medical regimes and the relatively informal, if sometimes intense, social life. Trips to the *Kurhaus* (pump room) and the baths began the daily routine while sociability centred around familiar rituals of association and display like the urban *corso* (promenade) (Kos). However, the unfamiliar environment promoted a sense of distance from normal life, accentuating the feeling of being outside normal time and encouraging informal patterns of interaction among the guests. Restoration of health was therefore not the only form of spa experience. The term 'romantic' often appeared in spa guidebooks but to readers the term often implied more than adulation of the scenery and reinforced perceptions of the liminal quality of the place. Stories of the legendary 'bathgirls' of the past evoked a time when the spas were associated with sexual licence of a kind now strongly discouraged by the authorities. Tales of the flirtatious *Kurschatten* (Cure Shadows) and *Sprudel Kavaliers* (Sprudel cavaliers) of the previous era indicated the kind of romantic, if temporary, relationships that might result from daily proximity in a strange place with time to fill. Famous examples of attachments formed while 'taking the waters' included those of the poet Goethe, the last of which took place in Marienbad when he was seventy-four.

The transformational magic of the conventional spa sometimes failed to work. Some sick people sought help from the peasant lay-healer Victor Priessnitz (1799–1851) who practised a version of the ‘cold-water cure’ (or hydrotherapy) in the mountain village of Gräfenberg in Austrian Silesia. Priessnitz’s story was similar to other ‘conversion’ narratives (Gijswijt-Hofstra) associated with unorthodox lay practitioners in that he claimed to have worked out the principles of his system when treating himself and by observing injured animals: a common feature of legends associated with the discovery of healing waters. Priessnitz’s view of illness was traditional, believing it to be caused by impurities and imbalances induced within the bodily system by diet, suppressed perspiration, unwholesome air and emotional distress. Treatment focused on the removal of obstructions to the circulation and the cleansing of the system through the use of bathing and sweating techniques, diet and the drinking of copious amounts of water. Patients came from across the social spectrum and included a high proportion of young men suffering from syphilis (Graham 10). Life in Gräfenberg was relatively austere, for, although the patients enjoyed fresh air, exercise and rest, the amenities were minimal, and reading, writing and intellectual effort were forbidden (Claridge 142). Publications about the place, not all of them complimentary (indeed, accusations of ‘charlatan-ism’ led to an official investigation vindicating Priessnitz’s methods), contributed to widespread interest in hydrotherapy, recognized officially by the Viennese Medical School when it created a chair in the subject in 1860. The first incumbent, Wilhelm Winternitz, one of Priessnitz’s leading disciples and a supporter of natural healing, opened a clinic in Kaltenleutgeben, a summer resort area outside Vienna. Although the severe regime centred around the use of cold bathing and was anything but pleasurable, it attracted an international clientele including the ailing wife of Mark Twain (Dolmetsch 221–2).

In the next decades reliance on the use of water by itself declined as doctors paid increasing attention to hygiene and climate. Tuberculosis and other pulmonary complaints began to be treated in sanatoriums located in the new *Luftorte* (air resorts) known for their ‘pure air’, like the Semmering in the eastern Alps or Zakopane in the Polish Tatra. The more entrepreneurial spas responded to the competition by transforming themselves into modern health resorts increasingly orientated towards recreational tourism. Most establishments offered a variety of treatments in which bathing and drinking were supplemented with ‘graduated walks’, fashionable diets, gymnastics, naturopathic remedies, electrical treatments, bicycling and sun, air and light baths, the latter made famous by Arnold Rikli’s establishment at Veldes.

The growth of recreational tourism was relatively slow until the 1860s when the wealthy upper middle classes began to incorporate the aristocratic institution of the *Sommerfrische* (summer holiday) into their lifestyles. In the Biedermeier era they had seldom travelled far, spending summers in villas outside the town. In

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the second half of the century improvements in the roads and the extension of the railway networks encouraged the wealthy middle classes to travel to the spas and summer resorts. Here they put their leisure to productive use, combining the pursuit of mental and bodily health with a 'return to nature' influenced by a Romantic love of the countryside and a Rousseausque anti-urbanism.⁴ However, the growing popularity of the practice encouraged the commercialization of the more popular places, initiating a conflict between the realities of resort life and the idealized view of the 'natural life' that had brought it into being.

This transformation of popular, commercially orientated spas into modern health resorts marked the emergence of a consumer culture in which travel and recreation played an increasingly important role. The discrepancy between the kinds of experience offered by life in a modern health resort and those available in relatively undeveloped, or more medically unorthodox establishments, became increasingly pronounced as the former underwent commercial development.⁵ The leading resorts were distinguished from one another by the distinctive nature of their waters, size, particular location, climate and social tone. Private and municipal enterprise and investment renovated and expanded the facilities at Carlsbad, turning it into a world-renowned resort and an important model for the development of others (Mikoletsky; Steward). Pavements, cafés, theatres, shops and libraries and, by the end of the century, electric street lighting, hotel lifts and American plumbing created an urban effect offset by new parks and gardens.

Imperial patronage influenced the social tone of a spa. A visit from the Empress Elizabeth, a devotee of spa treatments, was always good publicity and often brought crowds in its wake. The number of visitors to Marienbad rapidly increased after visits from the English Prince of Wales, who liked to combine gentle mortification of the flesh with international diplomacy. Traditional spas such as Rohitsch-Sauerbrunn in Styria were still patronized primarily by the families of the lesser nobility and senior bureaucrats (Klenze 560), thereby retaining something of the select, intimate atmosphere of the resorts of the past. At the other end of the social scale the breadth of Austria's bathing culture and its link with pilgrimage traditions were indicated by the survival of tiny bathing establishments like those in the Ultental or Ratzes in the south Tyrol. These still catered primarily to local pilgrims, peasant farmers and small tradesmen and their families from nearby towns (Obertaler).

Expansion changed the atmosphere of the large spas. Some guests now found this overpowering rather than tranquil and the company often undesirable. The Bavarian poet Karl Stieler (1874) wrote of Bad Ischl, the holiday residence of the Emperor Franz Joseph, that 'the company is not entirely in unison with this youthful freshness of scenery . . . Nobility and monied aristocracy vie with each other in ostentation and the desire to obtain consideration; the hurry to shine is sometimes so boisterous that it drowns the wonderful calm that breathes inimitable

among this scenery' (Stieler, 'Traun'84). Such comments indicate the hostile responses sometimes evoked by commercialization and the new types of guests it attracted. 'For these the trombones play, for these the golden rubbish of the shop is stored . . . The resident inhabitants are in some measure under the influence of these elements . . . They partake not only of the cash, but of the nature of the visitors, and so arises a sorry mixture of rural manufacturing natures, of summer industry and winter sloth' (Stieler, 'Traun' 84-5).

The mixing of social classes caused other tensions. Emily de Laszowska, the wife of an Austrian army officer, staying at Bad Ischl in 1896 noted the presence of that 'odious class – rich Jews who always run after the court like moths round a candle and who manage to infuse irritation and discomfort wherever they are' (271). The railways brought guests from all over the multi-ethnic monarchy to the largest spas. Germans from Vienna, Czechs from Bohemia, Italians from Trieste and Jews from Crakow all congregated in the pump room and mingled on the promenades of the west Bohemian spas and Meran, where there were also many foreigners. Guests in Carlsbad lamented the loss of the old intimacy as they found themselves but one 'unit of a crowd of health-seekers' (Merrylees 29). Despite the visible presence of the very sick, many of the 'vast throng' crowding the cafés and loitering in the shopping bazaars came more for the social life and recreational facilities than the medical regime and had to be constantly reminded that the 'object of all the visitors is, at least ostensibly, the restoration of health that has broken down under the stress of society functions, or political life, overwork or study, or the cares and worries inseparable from the existence of great financiers' (Palmer 127).

Those who found life in the spas too regimented, too urban or too expensive sought rest and relaxation in the more informal atmosphere of the lakeside. The Aussee in the Salzkammergut was particularly popular with writers and artists. The old pleasure resorts had once functioned as aristocratic marriage markets, and summer holidays at watering places still represented one of the few ways where young women could meet men outside their own limited circles. Karl Stieler remarked of the holiday season that '[L]ove-making is the chief occupation of tourists; it is just the time of year when a man is disposed to seal his fate, and also young ladies always play an important part during the season' (Stieler 'Tourists' 158). Boating parties on the lakes were examples of the way holiday life created opportunities for romantic attachments (Fig. 3.1). The maintenance of the relationship between watering places and romantic pleasure encouraged writers to utilize them as the *mise-en-scène* for fictitious relationships. Shlomo Aleichem's epistolary novel *Marienbad* (1911), representing romantic entanglements among a group of Polish Jews, included a marriage broker among its characters. Arthur Schnitzler drew on his own experiences of resort life by the Aussee in his writing as did Felix Sacher-Masoch, who used a small Galician spa as a setting for his novel, *Venus in Furs* (1870), reputedly based on a relationship initiated in Baden.



Figure 3.1 A. von Ramberg, Boating (Schmid/Stieler 163) Courtesy of the Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle upon Tyne

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century the urge to participate in the 'return to nature' symbolized by a spa visit or a sojourn by a lake was reinforced by anxieties about the effects of modern urban life on mental and physical health. The writer Max Nordau declared the 'inhabitant of a large town . . . continually exposed to unfavourable influences which diminish his vital powers far more than what is inevitable. He breathes an air charged with organic detritus, he eats stale, contaminated, adulterated food; he feels himself in a state of constant nervous excitement' (Nordau 35). Unfortunately, the growth of tourism meant that it was often impossible to avoid the contaminating and debilitating effects of civilization

even when on holiday. Mark Twain described the Hallstättersee as a '[B]eautiful lake in a cup of precipices' but its 'surface [was] littered with refuse and sewer contributions [despite which] men swim in it' (cited in Dolmetsch 105).

If 'retreating to nature' was increasingly difficult to achieve, the ability of many people to retain their belief in 'nature's healing power' was exemplified by the cult of Kneippism. This was a version of hydrotherapy that combined religion with cure and turned the Bavarian village of Wörishofen into a medical shrine. Father Sebastian Kneipp's (1821–1897) philosophy and methods, as they were described in 1886 in *Meine Wasserkur* (*My Water Cure*), combined the principles of cold-water therapy with the use of herbal remedies. Like Priessnitz, Kneipp, drawing on his own experiences, claimed to have cured his youthful consumption by following the advice of a book on cold bathing (Hahn). He declared that water, if 'properly applied' was 'capable of curing every curable disease . . . which mostly proceeds from insufficient hardening and bracing of a system' (9). Techniques focused on wrapping and bathing to purify the system and on the application of water to particular body parts, often using a watering-can.

Wörishofen attracted many invalid priests and monks, who mingled with the rich and famous, including Crown Prince Joseph of Austria, as they hardened their systems by walking barefoot on 'dewy grass' or new-fallen snow (de Ferro xxxii). The distinctive nature of the place was enhanced by the dripping sheets, towels and bedding hung up to dry everywhere (xix). Resisting derision from orthodox practitioners, Austrian disciples spread the message of Kneipp's 1889 book *So sollt Ihr leben* (Thus Shalt Thou Live) by establishing *Kneippvereine*, the members of which offered holistic treatment for body, mind and spirit. The Vienna section made weekly outings into the countryside equipped with sandals and watering-cans (Nowotny 551–2).

Important factors in Kneipp's success were his charismatic presence (de Ferro xx) and a growing interest in body culture and life reform shared by people from across the social and political spectrum, including the Empress Elizabeth, who was known for her obsession with slimming, sport and gymnastics. Kneipp himself was highly critical of fashionable and constraining clothing, a point of view supportive of *Reformkleider* (free-flowing female garments worn without corsets as their foundation). Equally important were the *Pfarrer*'s writings, which reinstated the relationship between morality and health and invoked puritanical values of temperance and asceticism, as did the cheap, simple and democratic nature of life in Wörishofen. This contrasted markedly with the hedonist tone of advertising for the new health resorts by warm Italian lakes or the sunny Adriatic which were driven by commercial enterprise. Even the humble *Pfarrer* was subjected to the same entrepreneurial forces. Not only did he appear on postcards (Fig. 3.2); but as de Ferro noted, his 'name has become a household word throughout Germany and Austria: his photograph is displayed in every shop-window; and "Pfarrer



Figure 3.2 'Gruss aus Wörishofen'. Postcard. Author's collection

Kneipp" bread, coffee and linen are everywhere advertised by wide awake speculators who seek to make capital out of his popularity' (de Ferro xvi).

Kneipp's emphasis on 'hardening the system' was particularly in tune with contemporary anxieties about masculinity, most keenly felt by members of the elite and educated classes and expressed in contemporary medical, psychological and sociological texts dealing with 'degeneration' and its symptoms. Kneipp himself commented that 'the effeminacy and degeneration of men have reached a very high pitch. Weakened and weaklings, bloodless and nervous individuals, sufferers from the heart or digestion are now almost the rule; the strong and vigorous have become the exception' (Kneipp, *Water* 9–10). 'Effeminacy' was the theme of Max Nordau's popular book, *Entartung* (Degeneration, 1892), the success of which indicated the extent of such concerns.

Nordau reiterated the ideas of earlier texts as he wrote about the enervating psychological and physical consequences on the upper classes of ill-disciplined urban lifestyles oriented towards self-gratification (Söder). 'The effect of a large town on the human organism offers the closest analogy to that of the *Maremma*, and its population falls victim to the same fatality of degeneracy and destruction as the victims of malaria' (Nordau 35). Many of the symptoms of degeneration that he listed – 'nervous irritability', 'sexual psychopathy', 'neurasthenia' and 'hysteria' – he claimed to observe in those frequenting 'the highways of fashionable watering places' (7), men as well as women. This was unsurprising for, variously

defined, these were all central elements in the discourses of the period (Steiner) and were complaints for which a *Badekur* was often the standard treatment (P. Berger).

Contemporary concerns of this kind were bound up with anxieties not just about the nature of masculinity and femininity, but also class and race (Mosse 81; Gilman). One writer who was particularly sensitive to both the gender and racial implications of the rhetoric of degeneration, expressed most clearly in Otto Weininger's *Geschlecht und Charakter* (Sex and Character, 1903), was the consumptive Jewish writer Franz Kafka, who was deeply influenced by the *Naturheilkunde* movement and made persistent attempts to harden his body. His friend Max Brod recalled their youthful pilgrimages into the forests around Prague, where they tried to unite themselves with nature by swimming 'in the forest streams, for Kafka and I lived then in the strange belief that we hadn't possessed a countryside until a nearly physical bond had been forged by swimming in its living, streaming waters' (cited in M. Anderson 76). This practice was expressive of the complex and symbolic function which water continued to play in the collective psyche. Kafka himself visited a number of spas for pleasure during his life only to find that, diagnosed as tubercular, he was to be numbered among those to whom no hope of salvation could be offered.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is possible to look back on the developments discussed in this chapter and see them as analogous with our own situation. For then, as now, the concern with health can be read for its symbolic value and as a comment on the complexities and troubles of the age (Sontag). At the end of the nineteenth century contact with water still remained a symbol of hope for many sick people, but advances in medicine and the advent of recreational tourism meant that its value was now associated less with bodily renewal than with mental regeneration and general physical well-being. In our own time the new health tourism catering for people stressed out by the demands of modern life is an expanding component of the contemporary leisure tourism industry, manifested in the proliferation of luxurious spa establishments and the New Age therapies and holistic philosophies with which they are associated. Now, as then, cultural, anxieties and conflict between the consumer culture, exemplified by the new health resorts, and the materialism of the contemporary world sustaining them indicate that the focus on health and 'return to nature' in the new leisure culture represent not just a strand in medical or tourist history but a critique of 'civilization and its discontents'.

Notes

1. In 1867 these included Bohemia and Moravia, Polish Galicia and the Alto Adige.
2. Criticism has pointed to the emphasis they placed on the search for 'communitas'. By contrast Eade and Sallnow view pilgrimage sites as arenas for the expression of competing religious and secular discourses, while Smith argues for the changing and multiple motives of travellers. Reader and Walter focus on the current use of the word pilgrimage in broad and secular contexts.
3. Translated into German in 1749, these ideas influenced a number of doctors including J. S. Hahn, who promoted cold water as a cure for cholera.
4. The philosophy of moderation justifying spa life harmonized with the *bürgerliche* virtues of reverence, discipline, simplicity and the avoidance of excess that had characterized Biedermeier Austria (Waissenberger 87; Sperber).
5. For comprehensive statistics relating to the development of spa tourism (Leonardi).

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The Image of Austria in British Travel Literature before the First World War: 1860-1914

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In 1872 Alexander Hutchinson, a writer of tourist guides specialising in destinations 'off the beaten track', met with little response when he invited the British public to *Try Cracow and the Carpathians* since few readers possessed much geographical knowledge of the region and even fewer regarded it as a suitable holiday destination.¹ A little later James Bryce, the climber and politician, reminisced about his travels in the eastern provinces of the Austrian monarchy, a region he had studied on schoolroom maps. He described the surprise he felt as, standing on a ridge in the Tatra mountains, instead of the long and continuous mountain chain of the Carpathians lying between Europe and asiatic Russia which he expected to see, he saw only an undulating land of forest-covered hills which were no more real than the Mountains of the Moon.²

In their different ways both pieces of travel writing were examples of the new forms of publications relating to travel which began to appear in the second half of the nineteenth century. In my essay I am going to suggest that it was the emergence of such publications which were partly responsible for generating new images of Austria and the Austrians in the period before the First World War. Many of these publications cannot be called literature in the usual sense of the term, but for the study of stereotypes of peoples and places and for social historians of tourism they constitute an invaluable source of information.

The appearance of these new forms of travel literature was related to, firstly, changes in the nature of the British publishing industry and the economic and social context in which it operated and, secondly, the process by which health and recreational travel were transformed into forms of commodities, to be bought and sold like any other. In the middle of the century most writing about travel still took the form of a narrative which combined the personal memoir with the insights of amateur ethnography. During the next fifty years the general interest in travel, the growth of the publishing industry and the expansion of the reading public led to a substantial growth in the number of travel books and articles aimed at a market increasingly segmented by social class and gender. New forms of travel literature appeared which included impressionistic essays, different types of guidebook, a considerable amount of travel journalism of the informative 'where and how to go' variety, and the promotional magazines of the travel industry. The different genres combined

to promote a new 'culture of travel' informed by an 'imaginary geography' of tourism in which images of destinations like Vienna and Madrid, Rome, Carlsbad and Nice, Switzerland and the Tyrol were defined in relation to, and against each other.³

Underlying the growth of the publishing and tourist industries was an expanding consumer culture in which visual experience played an increasingly important role. In the publishing industry the development of new reproductive technologies encouraged the use of illustrations which, particularly in publications aimed at a more popular market, became almost as important as the texts themselves. Advertisements for travel and travel goods published in magazines and guidebooks positioned viewers as potential travellers while dioramas, panoramas, stereoscopes, the posters of the travel industry, postcards and the early cinema gave visual expression to verbal stereotypes of people and places, framing them up as specific types of sights and inviting viewers to see and experience them in particular ways.⁴

Before the First World War the bulk of British visitors to Austria came from the upper classes, since the middle classes, generally less experienced and sophisticated as travellers, tended to opt for the Swiss resorts which were by now well-established centres for British tourists. Relatively few British visitors ventured much farther than the Tyrol, prompting the correspondent of the *London Times*, Henry Wickham Steed, to note of Vienna that "for forty years, the Viennese have been studying how to draw a stream of foreign visitors to their city and for forty years have been astounded by their failure".⁵ Distance from London was a more convincing explanation than Wickham Steed's hypothesis about the 'soullessness of the Viennese', but it was also true that in modern marketing terms Austria could be regarded as suffering from an 'image problem'.⁶ The sheer variety and size of its territories and the diversity of their populations, meant that as an entity the country lacked a strong, clear identity of the kind supposedly attractive to tourists. As Wickham Steed confided to his readers, "There is in reality, no Austrian, Hungarian or Austro-Hungarian peoples, there are the peoples who inhabit the monarchy, Hapsburg peoples, but no Hapsburg people".⁷

Yet, even as he wrote, the efforts of the new breed of travel writers, the periodical press and the publicity literature of the British and Austrian travel and tourist organisations were combining to create a commercialised form of tourist identity for Austria defined through images of alpine scenery, picturesque townscapes, modern health resorts, clean and industrious peasants in folk costume, arts and crafts souvenirs, sporting facilities and cosy charm. This image however, was constantly undercut and contradicted by the way in which the British press reported on the monarchy's political life, and the persistence of less positive stereotypes of Austria and its inhabitants, particularly those relating to the eastern provinces.

Many of these negative images were longstanding and derived from memoirs of earlier British travellers such as William Hunter, Edward Clarke

and James Holman.⁸ Central to nearly all such commentaries was the perception of Austria as a borderland between east and west and, as various studies have pointed out, a range of oppositional epithets marked the difference.⁹ Eighteenth-century descriptions of Austria's eastern territories were echoed by British travellers over the next two centuries and who, like William Coxe, invariably referred to the sparseness of the population, lack of cultivation and the extreme backwardness of the region revealed in the bad state of its roads. According to Coxe, the villages were "few and wretched beyond description, the hovels all built of wood, seemed full of filth and misery, and everything wore the appearance of extreme poverty".¹⁰ Even Cracow's "grandeur" was that of a "city in ruins" while Adam Neale contrasted the misery of the peasants with the life-styles of the nobility and gentry.¹¹ Images of sheepskin-clad peasants, gypsies and unwashed Jews with matted tresses figured in travelogues well into the twentieth century. Even the liberal and sympathetic Bryce felt it necessary to note the "indescribable air of dirt and squalor pervading everything" in the Jewish quarter of Cracow.¹²

British visitors expressed their sense of the blurred and fluid nature of the Monarchy's boundaries in ways which ranged from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's use of the term "Tatars" for the Hungarians,¹³ to the many nineteenth-century descriptions of Vienna's historical role as the last bastion of Christianity before the onslaught of the Turks, and the plethora of ethnic types observable on its streets. Not untypical was Adolphus Slade who, on his arrival in Prague en route to Constantinople, immediately detected the "influence of Turkishness and tastes" which he declared became "more evident, the further one advances eastwards until in Transylvania and Croatia distinctions cease".¹⁴ Wickham Steed observed that "[W]hat is incomprehensible to every non-Austrian, nay the eternally unintelligible about Austria is the Asiatic in Austria",¹⁵ and it is certainly true that British travellers found the ethnic mix of Austria's populations geographically confusing; they frequently referred to both the Muslim and Jewish populations as "Orientals", and even in 1911 Frances Moulton's tourist travelogue, *Lazy Tours*, referred to Marienbad as Hungarian, an association which led the author to quote from "Bluebeard".¹⁶

Throughout the century disapproval of Austria's political regime was an ongoing theme, clouding even Vienna's reputation as a 'city of pleasure' although the conservative Frances Trollope approved of Metternich's regime.¹⁷ The tone was set by an observer at the Congress of Vienna (1814) who noted that gaiety, brilliancy, and "pleasures were contrived more for political ends, than for the apparent purpose of rendering Vienna, for the time, the most attractive and agreeable capital in Europe".¹⁸ Criticism of Austrian rule was a theme which cut across literary forms. In 1854 the author of an article in *Household Words* (edited by Charles Dickens), described the experiences of an international party of pedestrian craftsmen touring Bohemia, declaring "From the moment we entered Bohemia, we were oppressed by a

sense of poverty of sloth, or some worse curse resulting from Austrian domination".¹⁹

That same year the humorist Richard Doyle published a sketchbook narrative, *The Foreign Tour of Messrs, Brown, Jones, and Robinson*, using the characters he had created for the magazine *Punch*. It describes the travails of a party of three young men, examples of the new 'suburban' types who were taking advantage of steamships and railways to travel abroad.²⁰ Travelling to Vienna, the party inevitably fell foul of the strange and sinister ways of Austrian officials (an ever-popular subject of British anecdotes).²¹ Observing Brown innocently engaged in sketching, they arrested him as a spy, thereby inducing in their victim an attack of acute paranoia, as he imagined himself under constant surveillance, with representatives of the Austrian state lurking behind every pillar.

Doyle's popular work was merely one example of the new forms of travel literature that appeared at this time and which supported the formation of a 'culture of travel' among readers. As more of the middle classes began to travel within Britain, they invaded the favourite domestic seashores of the upper classes who increasingly sought refuge abroad, often making regular trips to the foreign resorts including the 'German spas' of west Bohemia, recommended by British spa guides for the seriousness of their cure regimes, beautiful surroundings, and relatively sedate social life.²² A growing number of cross-Channel travellers felt impelled to see their travel reminiscences in print, particularly those with some kind of literary connections and ambitions.

The *Cornhill Magazine*, edited by the alpinist Leslie Stephen, addressed an upper middle-class, professional, urban readership which sought to express its sense of its own social and cultural identity through its choice of recreational pastimes, reading matter and holiday destinations. Elizabeth Tuckett, sister of Francis Tuckett, another well-known alpinist, wrote an account of an informal family holiday in the Tyrol which conveys a sense of the ways in which tourist practices were structured by a sense of place.²³ Her description of the Tyrolese as "an honest people, strong in their simple beliefs and diligent in prayer", who despite their Catholicism (often troubling to the British), presented them in a way which appealed to the beliefs and attitudes of her readers, many of whom were still under the influence of Rousseau's idealised view of alpine life.²⁴ The image of the "honest" Tyrolese was exemplified in the kind of attention which the Tyrol continued to receive from British writers, who were particularly taken with the tale of Andreas Hofer's heroic stance against the French.

As the presence of the Tuckett family in the Tyrol shows, the British love of mountains was an important element in generating tourist links with Austria. This was turned to good effect by Thomas Cook whose package trips to central Europe helped to make certain parts of Austria known to British travellers through the articles in *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser*, the house magazine through which the company promoted its activities. Although Cook's programme included tours to Vienna in the mid-1860s, the

connection was firmly established only with his arrangements for the Vienna Exhibition of 1873, an event which attracted very mixed reviews in the British press. Like many of his fellow countrymen, Cook disapproved of the country's political regime and, like many Britons, complained about the Austrian occupation of Venice. As a staunch upholder of temperance and a strict non-conformist he perceived the Viennese Sunday as "a carnival of folly and vice".²⁵

Thirty years earlier, the novelist and travel writer Frances Trollope visited Vienna and justified her travelogue, *Austria and the Austrians* (1838), on the grounds that "there was no country in Europe so little known, and so little understood".²⁶ In the 1870s this remark still contained sufficient substance for editors to look favourably on articles on Austria as a place 'off the beaten track'. As the literary market place in Britain became more competitive, professional and amateur writers searched for subject matter which might interest their publishers and catch the attention of their readers. In Austria, they found a useful source of marketable material. This strategy worked well for the novelist Amelia Edwards whose *Untrodden Peaks and Unfrequented Valleys* (1873) introduced her readers to the Dolomites and made her reputation as a serious travel writer. Readers were particularly taken by her account of the wood-carving industry of the secluded Gröden valley and her descriptions of "carefully carved and painted cruxifixes, [...] carts full of little wooden horses [...] or nothing - but doll's legs; every leg painted with a smart white stocking and an emerald-green slipper!"²⁷ 'Toytown', as Edwards labelled the place, was actually a Tyrolean version of an industrial village whose products were exported all over the world. As she remarked, many of her readers had in fact been on intimate terms with the place from earliest infancy for "all these cheap, familiar absurd treasures of your earliest childhood and mine - they all came, Reader, from St Ulrich!"

Edwards's portrait of valley life mingled images of the distinctive scenery of the Dolomites and its pious peasant communities with familiar and nostalgic scenes from the English nursery for as she reminded her readers "we are mere mortals; but those wooden warriors and those jointed dolls bear charmed lives, and renew for ever their indestructible youth". The signs of semi-industrial activity such as warehouse interiors full of goods and piles of packing cases were presented as sights in themselves, expressions of a traditional way of life whose uniqueness was determined by the unique Ladini language and culture of the valley's inhabitants whose ill-paid toil Edwards described in detail. Relatively few of the author's British readers probably visited St Ulrich, but the combination of scenery, peasant life and customs, crafts and rural piety became key elements in the Tyrol's commercial iconography as it was evinced in guidebooks to the region and the promotional posters and materials of its trade and tourist associations.

Other writers looked further east. An interesting example of a new social type was Ménie Muriel Dowie, whose book, *A Girl in the Carpathians*,

originally appeared as an article, "In Ruthenia", in the *Fortnightly Review* (1890).²⁸ By this time even the Carpathians had their own well-organised tourist associations although few of their customers were British. The ambitious Dowie, who went on to become a journalist and an icon of New Womanhood, was able to capitalise on readers' unfamiliarity with the region, and the brief sensation caused by her costume (knickerbockers and leggings beneath an ordinary skirt), and her account of her birthday, spent in shooting practice with her revolver in case of a chance meeting with the wild cats, bears or wolves roaming the area. Trading on traditional perceptions of the region as a borderland of European civilisation, Dowie used her tale as a means of creating a public identity for herself thereby mimicking her male compatriots who were making their own reputations elsewhere by exploring the outposts of the British empire. The young artist, Margaret Fletcher, who painted her portrait for the cover of the society magazine *Queen*, was sufficiently inspired by these adventures to go off to Hungary in search of gypsy music.²⁹

From the 1880s onwards the British upper classes became fragmented into groups increasingly differentiated by wealth and lifestyle.³⁰ This, together with the expansion of the travelling public, encouraged editors, publishers and travel agents to address customers as particular tourist types with particular tastes and preferences. In the periodical press the most extensive coverage of travel and tourism was that found in *Queen* which advised its predominantly female readers on all aspects of travel. A number of articles indicate Austria's popularity with *Queen's* top '10,000', many of whom shared the passion of the Austrian aristocracy for field and winter sports. By the beginning of the new century reports in the national press, often accompanied by photographs, encouraged readers to follow the Prince of Wales to his annual cure at Marienbad, or to travel to one of the many Austrian health resorts listed in *Queen's* useful annual compendium of places to go, in which readers were directed to places appropriate to their social condition, pockets and the season. The publicity put out by the largest resorts, supported by the travel bureau set up in London by the Austrian Ministry of Railways in 1902, emphasised the modernity of their facilities while hotel advertisements boasted of the 'American plumbing'. The *Badminton Magazine*, which specialised in articles linking sport and travel, often mentioned Austria.

Another distinctive readership was constituted by the arts and crafts community. The tendency of amateur Victorian ethnographers like Charles Boner, best known for his book on Transylvania,³¹ to perceive the monarchy as a kind of ethnic folk museum was given a new twist when figures like Walter Crane, who illustrated the *Religious Tract Society's* book on Bohemia,³² began to appreciate the richness of the monarchy's heritage so that by the early twentieth century the arts magazine *Studio* was publishing regular and detailed illustrated reports from Amelia Levetus on the latest artistic trends and exhibitions and the state of Austria's traditional crafts. Her dispatches from Vienna and elsewhere in the Monarchy alerted her readers to

the differences between the material cultures of the various ethnic groups and to the growing awareness among non-German artists of their own cultural heritage. As the new travel journalism sent writers and amateur artists to outlying parts of Austria in search of the picturesque, readers became increasingly familiar with the verbal and visual images of places that had previously been no more than specks on a map. Places which formerly seemed remote now appeared less intimidating to readers as they became veiled in the language of tourism, effectively domesticating them. The strangeness of the Transylvanian superstitions, described by Emily Gerard in her *Land Beyond the Forest*, for example, was mediated by her interest in peasant handicrafts as well as details of her domestic life.³³

Writing in another mode, Emily and her sister Dora contributed to yet another form of travel literature, that of the 'travel romance'.³⁴ For writers of romantic fiction, from relatively unknown novelists like Edith Hoare to the more famous Ouida, Austria provided a useful setting for the *mise-en-scène*.³⁵ Its colourful range of picturesque backgrounds and ethnic and social types was utilised to the full by the Gerard sisters, whose first novel, *Reata* (1880), written jointly, was first published in *Blackwood's* magazine. Emily's semi-autobiographical *The Foreigner*, drew heavily on her personal experiences firstly as convent schoolgirl in Salzburg and then, as an army wife in the remote province of Polish Galicia.³⁶ Dora Gerard's *The Improbable Idyll* (1905) described Galicia through the eyes of a woman artist, emphasising the paintability of its scenery and people, folk costumes and hand-crafted souvenirs. Less concerned with literary quality than her sister, Dora's *City of Enticement* (1911) dealt with Vienna and its people, depicting it almost exactly as it appears in popular guidebooks like the *Wiener Cicerone*, "... a place where east and west shake hands",³⁷ as a set of tourist sights – the *Burgmusik*, Schönbrunn and picturesque nooks and crannies and Viennese types (like the illustrations of Amelia Levetus' *Imperial Vienna* (1905),³⁸ or the watercolours commissioned by the Brüder Kohn for the postcards sold in their shops). The characters are delineated as a set of tourist types whose interests mirror the city's own tourist publicity – shopping, art, monuments, balls, royalty, and winter sports.³⁹

Apart from the publicity literature put out by the travel agencies, the tourist industry itself contributed to the way that Austria was represented in the press. Foreign trade fairs had become important vehicles for promoting tourism, and the Imperial Austrian exhibition, held in London in 1906, was no exception. Exhibitions of this often focused on the more unfamiliar and exotic aspects of national life, but the Austrian exhibition downplayed these and concentrated on the reassuringly familiar.⁴⁰ Vienna appeared as a modern cosmopolitan city of high culture, gaiety, elegance and high-class shopping facilities represented by luxury goods and its major art organisations.

The centrepiece of the exhibition was a Tyrolean village utilising all the usual elements of Alpine tourism – scenery, vernacular architecture, folk

costume, rural pastimes and arts and crafts, the whole emphasising the homely, rural values of a rapidly disappearing peasant world. The selection of the Tyrolean peasant to represent Austria's diverse populations, while giving prominence to the region with the clearest and most successful tourist image, also aligned Austria with the West rather than the more interesting but problematic Slav territories. These were represented, for the most part, by displays of folk art, which symbolised the distinctive national cultures and histories of their producers. The political tensions within Austria could not be hidden however, for Bohemia (for many Britains a region still confused with literary Bohemia),⁴¹ was represented by a separate section funded by the city of Prague, and its handbook, written by the Czech patriot Count Lützow, strongly reiterated Bohemia's claims to a separate historical and cultural identity.⁴²

Just after the exhibition closed, an image in the *Illustrated London News* (1906) indicated just how difficult it was to reconcile the old and new images of Austria. Peasants in folk costume were posed against a rural background. Vienna was represented simply by three discreetly placed 'Civilised Gypsies of Vienna'. The caption read "A Hard Family to govern: the Emperor Franz Josef's Motley Empire – The extraordinary diversity of nationalities composing the Austrian-Hungarian Empire".⁴³ In many ways this summed up British images of Austria for, in an era of rising nationalism, Austria appeared as a state without a national identity, in that, to rephrase Steed, "there are Austrian peoples, but there are no Austrian people".⁴⁴ The subsequent Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina caused consternation in the British press; the *Illustrated London News* printed a special edition in which the Emperor Franz Josef and the King of Serbia were depicted as the "Two sly rulers who tricked Europe".⁴⁵

It is a truism that travel writing tells us as much about the relationship of the writer to the places left behind as those visited. In this paper I have tried to show some ways in which images of Austria as they appear in British travel writing before the First World War owe as much to the particular circumstances of their production and consumption as to the nature of their observations concerning their subject matter. I want to conclude by mentioning an article by the journalist George R. Sims published in the *Strand Magazine*, two years before the Austrian exhibition, describing a 'tour' through the East End of London which focused on its newest residents, the Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe. Illustrated by images and captions such as "In the Bazaar" which emphasised the 'Oriental' nature of the scene, while "In Alien-Land" referred to "this foreign land which is in London but not of it".⁴⁶ Although not referring specifically to the eastern provinces of Austria, the anxieties expressed were exactly those about borders and boundaries which, in the period before the First World War, like the traces on a palimpsest shaped by "distant histories and symbols",⁴⁷ continued to haunt much of the more serious travel writing about the monarchy and in which

images of the eastern Jews were expressive symbols of a sense of the monarchy's inherent political and cultural differences.

Notes

- 1 Alex F. Hutchinson, *Try Cracow and the Carpathians* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1872).
- 2 James Bryce, "The Mountains of Hungary" in *Memories of Travel* (London: Macmillan, 1923), p. 92-3. Cartographical representations of the Mountains of the Moon in Africa were, like the Carpathians, partly a geographical fiction.
- 3 Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991); Nigel Thrift and Paul Glennie, "Historical Geographies of Urban Life and Modern Consumption" in *Selling the City: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present*, ed. Gerry Kearns and Chris Philo (Oxford: Pergamon, 1993), pp. 33-48; George Hughes, "Tourism and the Semiological Representation of Space" in *Destinations: Cultural Landscapes of Tourism*, ed. Greg Ringer (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 17-32.
- 4 John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze, Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990); Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley: California UP, 1993).
- 5 Henry Wickham Steed, *The Hapsburg Monarchy* (London: Constable and Constable, 1913; 4th edn 1919), p. 206.
- 6 See, for example, *The Tourist Image*, ed. Tom Selwyn (Chichester and London: Wiley, 1996); *Place Promotion: The Use of Advertising and Marketing to Sell Towns and Regions*, ed. John R. Gold and Stephen Ward (Chichester and London: Wiley, 1994).
- 7 Wickham Steed, *The Hapsburg Monarchy*, p. 120.
- 8 Examples of British travellers are William Hunter, *Travels in the Year 1792 through France, Turkey, and Hungary, to Vienna: Concluding with an Account of That City. In a series of letters, to a lady in England* (London: B. & J. White, 1796); Edward Daniel Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa, Part I, Russia, Tartary and Turkey, 1810* (Newcastle upon Tyne: W. & T. Fordyce, 1841). James Holman, *Travels through Russia, Siberia, Poland, Austria, Saxony, Prussia, Hanover, & Undertaken During the Years 1822, 1823, and 1824, while suffering from total blindness, and comprising an account of the author being conducted a state prisoner from the eastern parts of Siberia*, 2 vols (London: G.B. Whittaker, 1825).
- 9 See, for example, Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford UP, 1994).
- 10 William Coxe, *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark: Interpersed with Historical Relations and Political Inquiries*, (London: T. Cadell, 1785), p. 122.
- 11 Adam Neale, *Travels through Some Parts of Germany, Poland, Moldavia and Turkey*, (London: Longman et al., 1818).
- 12 Bryce, *Memories*, p. 53.
- 13 See Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Robert Halsband, Vol. I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 295-7; For recent discussions of the images of the borderlands see Maria Nikolaeva Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford UP, 1997) and Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania: the Imperialism of the Imagination* (New Haven, London: Yale UP, 1998).

- 14 Adolphus Slade, *Travels in Germany and Russia Including a Voyage by the Danube and the Euxine from Vienna to Constantinople, 1838-9* (London: Longman, 1840).
- 15 Wickham Steed, *The Hapsburg Monarchy*, xix.
- 16 Frances Moulton, *Lazy Tours in Spain and Elsewhere* (London: Ward Locke, 1896), p. 252.
- 17 Frances Trollope, *Vienna and the Austrians; with Some Account of a Journey Through Swabia, Bavaria, the Tyrol, and the Salzburg* (London: Richard Bentley, 1838).
- 18 Anon., *Austria and the Austrians*, Vol. 2 (London: Henry Colburn, 1937), p. 62.
- 19 Anon., "A Lift in a Cart", *Household Words* 9 (1854), pp. 34-6
- 20 Richard Doyle, *The Foreign Tour of Messrs. Brown, Jones and Robinson in Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and Italy* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1854).
- 21 Bernard Porter, "'Bureau and Barracks': Early Victorian Attitudes towards the Continent", *Victorian Studies*, (Summer 1984), pp. 407-33.
- 22 A. B. Granville [Augustus Bozzi], *The Spas of Germany* (London: Henry Colburn, 1837), p. 308; John Macpherson, *The Baths and Wells of Europe: Their Action and Uses with Hints on Change of Air and Diet Cures* (London: Macmillan, 1873), p. 264.
- 23 Elizabeth Tuckett, *How We Spent the Summer: or, a 'Voyage en Zigzag' in Switzerland and Tyrol, With Some Members of the Alpine Club: from the Sketch Book of One of the Party* (London/Bristol: 1864).
- 24 Elizabeth Tuckett, "Sketches from the Berchtesgaden and the Zillertal" in *Cornhill Magazine* 15 (1867), p. 585; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Julia or the New Elouisa: a Series of Original Letters Collected and Published by J.-J. Rousseau [Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse]*, 3 vols (1761); (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1794).
- 25 The first tour was advertised 24 June, 1865 in *Cook's Excursionist and International Tourist Advertiser* (London), 15 Aug. 1865, p. 15. I am indebted to the Thomas Cook Archive (Peterborough) for this information.
- 26 Frances Trollope, *Vienna and the Austrians*, p. 138.
- 27 Amelia B. Edwards, *Untrodden Peaks and Unfrequented Valleys: a Midsummer Ramble in the Dolomites* (London: Longmans & Green, 1873), pp. 372-4;
- 28 Méné Muriel Dowie, "In Ruthenia", *Fortnightly Review* 54 O.S. 48 N.S. (October 1890) was republished in an expanded version of her travels as *A Girl in the Karpathians*, (London: G. Philip, 1891).
- 29 Margaret Fletcher, *Sketches of Life and Character in Hungary* (Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 1892), pp. 114-15.
- 30 Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Society, Etiquette and The Season* (London: Croom Helm, 1973).
- 31 Charles Boner, *Transylvania: its Products and its People* (London: Longmans et al., 1865).
- 32 James Baker, *Pictures from Bohemia Drawn with Pen and Pencil* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1894).
- 33 Emily Gerard, *The Land Beyond the Forest: Facts, Figures and Fancies from Transylvania*, 2 Vols (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1888).
- 34 Jill Steward, "The 'Travel Romance' and the Emergence of the Female Tourist", in *Studies in Travel Writing*, 2 (1998), pp. 85-105.

- 35 For example, Ouida (Marie De La Ramée), *Moths*, 3 vols (London: Chatto & Windus, 1880), pp. 252-3; Edith Hoare, *A Faulty Courtship: a Tyrolese Romance* (London, New York: F. Warne & Co, 1899).
- 36 Dorothea Gerard, *The Improbable Idyll* (London: Methuen, 1905), pp. 14-15; Emily Gerard (Laszowska), *The Foreigner: an Anglo-German Study*, (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1896).
- 37 Dorothea Gerard, *The City of Enticement*, 1911, p. 310.
- 38 Amelia Sarah Levetus, *Imperial Vienna* (London/New York: John Lane/The Bodley Head, 1905).
- 39 Dorothea Gerard, *The City of Enticement* (London: Stanley Paul, 1911); W. Höllrigl, *Wiener Cicerone: Illustrierter Führer durch Wien und Umgebungen* (Vienna: Alexander Dorn, 1907); Harro H. Kühnelt, "Dorothea Gerards Romane aus dem alten Österreich" in *Österreich: England /Amerika: Abhandlungen zur Literatur-Geschichte*, ed. Sylvia, M. Patsch (Vienna, Munich: Christian Brandstätter, 1986). Waldemar Zacharasiewicz, "Das Bild Wiens und der Wiener im anglo-amerikanischen Schrifttum" in *Anglistik und Englischunterricht* 29-30 (1986), p. 247-63.
- 40 Anton Bürstmüller, "Der Anteil britischer Bergsteiger an der Erschliessung der Ostalpen [The role of the British mountaineer in the development of the eastern Alps]" in *Österreich und die Angelsächsische Welt: Kulturbegegnungen und Vergleiche*, ed. Otto Hietsch (Vienna, Stuttgart: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1968), pp. 559-60.
- 41 On the confusion see, for example, J. V. Polisensky, *Britain and Czechoslovakia* (Prague: Orbis, 1968), pp. 64-5.
- 42 Handbook for the Bohemian section at the Austrian Exhibition, Earl's Court, London, *A Guide to the Bohemian Section and the Kingdom of Bohemia: a Memento* (Prague: Alois Wiesner, 1906); *The Art Revival in Austria*, ed. Charles Holmes (London: Studio, 1906).
- 43 *Illustrated London News*, 15 Dec. 1906, p. 895.
- 44 Steed, *The Hapsburg Monarchy*, p. 120.
- 45 *Illustrated London News*, Supplement, 17 Oct 1908, p. vii.
- 46 G. R. Sims, "Off the Track in London," *Strand Magazine*, 160: 27 (1904), p. 472. *Illustrated London News*, 15 Dec. 1906, p. 895.
- 47 Michel de Certeau writes about the city as a "palimpsest" of this kind, see *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: California UP, 1984).

ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356–323 BCE)

some natural, some the result of his childhood training at the hands of fine teachers, one of whom was probably Aristotle. Alexander's boundless desire to explore remote areas is testimony to his curiosity; the legend of the cutting of the Gordian knot is an illustration of his inventiveness. Another feature of his personality is his profound admiration for Greek culture, culminating in his love of Homer's *Iliad*. That he saw the protection of Greek culture as a political legitimation for his devastating war against the Persian empire is symbolized by his visit to Homer's Troy (Ilium), where he made sacrifices to Athene and to Priam, whom he regarded as one of the Greeks. On the administrative level, Alexander promoted Greek colonization and the foundation of new cities (such as Alexandria in Egypt), so as to create political stability and unity in his new empire. His marriage to Roxane, daughter of a Bactrian leader, was meant to be a stimulus to marriages between Greeks and Asians. He respected local customs and hierarchies, favored Persian ceremonies, and left many satraps and local rulers in office. This pro-Persian policy, and his absolute style of government in imitation of the Persian kings, was destined to become unpopular with the Greeks. At an earlier stage they had already complained about his visit to the temple of Ammon in the oasis at Siwah in Egypt in 331, where the oracle had addressed him as the son of Ammon Zeus, confirming the claim that he was of divine origin. In this way the overconfident conqueror gradually drifted away from his old Greek friends and from his own soldiers. Some plotted against him in 327, but they were mercilessly executed.

Little has been preserved of the many contemporary writings on Alexander. The authors of these writings were either among those participating in Alexander's campaigns, or else had access to firsthand information. But the material they left inspired later generations of Greek and Latin authors. The main works that survived are Arrian's restrained historical description of Alexander's military campaigns; Plutarch's anecdotal character sketch; Diodorus Siculus's history, which contains many fragments of authors now lost; Quintus Curtius Rufus's biography, concentrating on the psychological changes in Alexander's life; and Justin's extract from Pompeius Trogus. A large number of unhistorical and legendary stories about Alexander are found in the late Hellenistic (probably third-century CE) so-called Alexander Romance, which was erroneously attributed to Alexander's own historian, Callisthenes. The Alexander Romance was transmitted in many different forms in both European and Asian languages. These fantastic stories, such as Alexander's aerial and submarine adventures, aroused much interest in the Middle Ages. They helped to make Alexander the most revered historical figure of antiquity in

that period. In the Renaissance, a more factual picture of Alexander emerged after the rediscovery of the ancient authors previously mentioned.

ZWEDER VON MARTELS

Biography

Born in Pella, Macedon, 356 BCE, son of King Philip II of Macedon and Olympias, princess of Epirus. Taught by Aristotle. Defended Macedon against the Maedi, 340. Fought at the battle of Chaeronea, 338. Fled with his mother to Epirus after her divorce from Philip; later went to Illyria. Returned to Macedon and was reconciled with Philip. Inherited his father's title after his assassination, 336. Crossed the Hellespont and traveled through Asia Minor to Egypt, leading the Macedonian military campaign against the Persian empire, 334–327. Married Roxane, daughter of the Bactrian leader Oxyartes, c. 328. Killed his friend, Clitus, provoking unrest in the Macedonian army, c. 328. Successfully invaded the Punjab, India, 326. Returned to Susa, 325–324. Became ill in Babylon, either with malaria or from poisoning, 323. Died in Babylon, 10 or 13 June 323 BCE.

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See also Greece, Ancient Hellenic World

ALPS

Generations of travelers have looked upon the Alps as a region of passage, a boundary between what the Romans thought of as the cold, "barbarous" north and the warm, "civilized" south. The principal routes led from north to south, rather than along the valleys running from east to west, and were determined primarily by accessibility and the time of year. The most famous of early journeys remains that made by Hannibal and his elephants across the western Alps. The Romans left behind an extensive road system that remained the basis of travel through the region for many centuries.

In the Middle Ages, traffic was commercial, religious, diplomatic, or military. Travelers from the Rhône and Rhine valleys usually crossed by the Mont Cenis Pass to Susa or by the Great St. Bernard to Turin and Milan. The opening of the St. Gotthard Pass created a shorter, more direct route across the central Alps, linking the Rhine valley to Milan. By the fourteenth century, the most popular route led from Augsburg in southern Germany to Innsbruck and over the Brenner Pass to Verona. A less dangerous route passed through Salzburg, Vienna, and Styria and Carinthia in the eastern Alps. The lot of Alpine travelers was eased by hospices, many dating from around the time of the First Crusade: the most famous were those on the Great St. Bernard and the St. Gotthard.

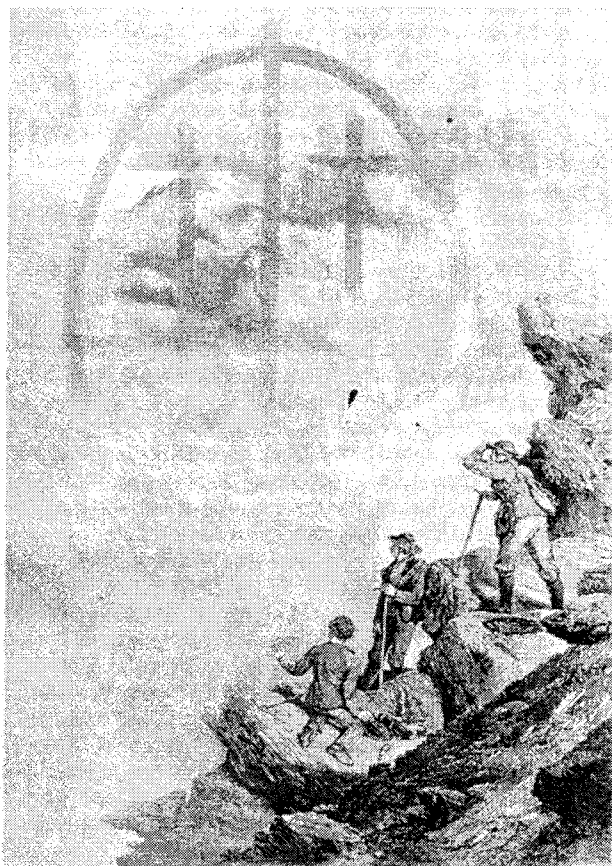
Travelers did not linger in the high mountain passes and valleys of the Alps, fearing storms, avalanches, and bandits. The narrow paths of the decaying road system were accessible only by mules and horses. Apart from occasional visitors like Petrarch, few travelers were interested in mountains, and it was not until

the middle of the sixteenth century that Hans Fries was recorded as making a journey in the mountains for pleasure (De Beer, 1930) and the naturalist Conrad Gesner (1516–1565) took a scientific interest in the study of mountain environments. The British traveler Fynes Moryson wrote of his solitary journey in 1595 across the western Alps without even a footman, “I think very few have done [it] but myself.”

In the seventeenth century, British travelers like Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715) were interested in the history and religious life of the western Alps but not in the mountains themselves. By the beginning of the next century, scientifically minded travelers, including Johann Jakob Scheuchzer (1672–1733), from Zurich, began to make tours through the mountains. Scheuchzer’s account of his complicated itineraries included descriptions of dragons. Burnet’s son William reported to the Royal Society on his 1708 visit to the Grindelwald glaciers. German literary and philosophical interest in mountains was reinforced by Albrecht von Haller (1708–1777), whose poem “Die Alpen” (1732) was inspired by his travels. Most Grand Tourists continued to dislike mountains, though William Windham’s description of his attempt to climb Mont Blanc in 1741 helped to make Chamonix into a mountaineering center.

After the end of the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763), Alpine travel became more popular and the scientific exploration of the mountains began in earnest. Horace-Bénédict de Saussure’s accounts of his travels and observations came to be regarded as the most influential. Like his rival Marc-Théodore Bourrit (1739–1818), Saussure (1740–1799) was determined to climb Mont Blanc and, though he was not the first to do so, he finally succeeded in 1786. Viewing glaciers became fashionable, but William Coxe (1747–1828), who made four visits to Switzerland in the 1770s and 1780s, expressed disappointment in those at Grindelwald. His admiration for other aspects of the scenery was evidence of the changes in taste that made the Alps increasingly attractive to tourists as they began to seek experiences of the sublime in ways that anticipated romantic attitudes to nature.

Improvements to the roads made the mountains more accessible. Rousseau’s *La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1760) generated many literary and artistic pilgrimages to the Valais, where French travelers in particular took an idealized view of Alpine life. A passion for untamed nature encouraged the antiquarian Karl von Bonstetten (1716–1792) to “bathe his soul in pure nature,” declaring that geology was “the true poetry of the Alps.” Other visitors included Goethe (1749–1832), the Baron de Frenilly (1768–1828), and Wordsworth (1770–1850), whose walking tour helped to set a fashion. The new aesthetic of the sublime based on feeling encour-



Reminder of the superstitious awe with which the Alps were for centuries regarded: the strange light effect seen after the fatal accident on the first ascent of the Matterhorn in 1865 (engraved frontispiece to Edward Whymper’s *Scrambles amongst the Alps*, 1871). Courtesy of British Library, London.

aged female appreciation of the mountains. Subjective impressions of the beauty of the mountains became commonplace.

After the end of the revolutionary wars in 1814, the influence of romanticism brought many more visitors to the mountains. Schiller's *William Tell* (1803–1804) reinforced the association of the Swiss Grisons with the values of liberty, independence, and democracy. By contrast, visitors crossing into Alpine Austria complained of the bureaucratic and autocratic nature of the Hapsburg regime. In the 1840s, the new railways created simpler routes, determined primarily by topography, which encouraged the development of new resorts. Travel over the high passes continued to be on horseback or by sleigh until the construction of railway tunnels in the last quarter of the century. Of the many visitors to the Swiss Alps, few had much new to say, but, as in the case of John Ruskin (1819–1900), love of the Alps often generated enthusiastic accounts of their beauties. Most of the major peaks in the High Alps had already been climbed by Swiss, Austrian, or French mountaineers by 1854, when the so-called golden age of British mountaineering began. This culminated in the ascent of the Matterhorn in 1865, the only large peak still unconquered. Edward Whymper's account of the dramatic and controversial event, in which four lives were lost, remains one of the classics of the mountaineering genre.

The numerous memoirs published by members of the British Alpine Club (founded in 1857) were mostly concerned with topography rather than the history and peoples of the region. Long-established visitors to the region like Leslie Stephen (1832–1904) resented the tourists flooding what he dubbed the “playground of the world.” A different kind of tourist—for example, Amelia Edwards (1831–1892)—looked for “untrodden peaks and unfrequented valleys” in unknown areas like the Dolomites, now made more accessible by the railway over the Brenner.

Despite new methods of travel, including guideless climbing, skiing, bicycling, and the motorcar, valleys in the more remote areas of the southeastern Alps remained secluded well into the twentieth century, when the customs and traditions of their inhabitants, threatened by or re-created for tourists, became the subject of anthropological interest.

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See also **Central Europe**

AMAZON RIVER

The basin of the Amazon River stretches from the Atlantic to the eastern slopes of the Andes. It has more than 1,000 tributaries that drain a territory of more than 6 million square miles. The enormous outflow of water and sediment through its vast estuary noticeably discolors and dilutes the Atlantic Ocean as far as 150 miles offshore. The Spaniard Vicente Yáñez Pinzón noted this phenomenon when he was navigating up the Brazil coastline in 1499. As the first European to discover the river, he named it Santa Maria de la Mar Dulce, or "the Freshwater Sea."

It was not until after the conquest of Peru that Spanish adventurers turned their attention to the Amazon, driven by rumors that the fabulous riches of the empire of "El Dorado" and the "land of cinnamon" lay somewhere in the jungles of the eastern slopes of the Andes. Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition struggled down the Coca to the Napo in 1541. Short of supplies and recognizing that the rivers ran east, Pizarro ordered Francisco de Orellana to take a brigantine and forage ahead. Swept inexorably downstream by the force of the current, Orellana's party entered the Amazon and followed it to the sea. He returned to Spain with accounts of the riches of the Omagua tribes settled on the main river between the Putumayo and Japurá, and of women warriors encountered downstream of the Madeira. His attempt in 1545 to return with a small fleet to what had rapidly become known as the Rio del las Amazonas met with disaster in the delta. It would be 15 years before another Peruvian, Pedro de Ursúa, set off with a disorderly expedition down the tributary Huallaga toward the El Dorado of the Omaguas. Ursúa and the party's leaders were rapidly disposed of by their men. The mutinous rabble built two large boats and retraced Orellana's journey to the Atlantic, led by their psychopathic campmaster Lope de Aguirre. The Dominican friar Gaspar de Carvajal produced a fascinating eyewitness report of Orellana's epic descent of the Amazon, as did the soldier Francisco Vasquez, who managed to survive Lope de Aguirre's crazed wanderings. These accounts were extracted by contemporary Spanish chroniclers, but neither was actually published until some 350 years later.

Seventeenth-century accounts of travel on the Amazon stemmed from international skirmishes for control of the river, and from accompanying missionary activities. The Portuguese founded Belém in Pará in 1616 as a defense against Dutch, English, and Irish intruders

CENTRAL ASIA, WESTERN TRAVELERS

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See also **Great Game; Turkestan**

CENTRAL EUROPE

The lands of Central Europe extend, from west to east, from the eastern Alps to the Carpathian Mountains encircling the eastern regions of the former Habsburg empire, and from north to south, from Germany, Bohemia, and Moravia to Italy, the Adriatic, and the Balkans. The extension northward of the Roman empire combined with the advent of Christianity to generate

a concept of a “civilized” Europe of the “true faith,” geographically coextensive with the empires of the Romans and of Charlemagne. Beyond lay the barbarian culture of the infidel. Renaissance writers also accepted this distinction.

By the end of the Middle Ages, the most direct and important route through the western region led from Augsburg in Germany, across the Brenner Pass, and on to Verona and Venice. Another route led from Dresden, through Bohemia to Vienna, and on to Venice. Travelers to the east and southeast usually traveled through Moravia to Poland, turning south along the old trade routes from the Baltic, leading down the Dnieper to the Balkans and the Bosphorus. Alternatively, they could travel along the Danube valley from Linz to Vienna and on into Hungary and Transylvania to Temesvar and the Balkans.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most accounts of the regions were written by Habsburg officials, traveling through the region on business, who often provided detailed accounts of the local populations. Foreign travelers were deterred by the Turks who reached the gates of Vienna in 1539 and 1683, and by the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). However, Dr. Edward Browne (1604–1708) made two tours of Hungary in 1668, visiting the gold mines of northern Hungary and making detailed observations of the local bathing practices. Browne was reminded of the cultural complexities and ambiguities of the region by the juxtaposition of the visible signs of the Turkish occupation with Dacian and Roman relics linking the region to Mediterranean civilization. It appeared to Browne that on entering the country “a man seems to take leave of our World . . . and before he cometh to Buda, seems to enter upon a new stage of world, quite different from that of the western countrys” (1685).

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762) entertained similar feelings as she contemplated her forthcoming trip to the Ottoman empire, for, even though the Turks had retreated from Hungary, her Viennese acquaintances still regarded the inhabitants of the eastern region with deep apprehension. Departing by the Temesvar route, Lady Mary declared, “I think I ought to bid Adeiu to my freinds with the same Solemnity as if I was going to mount a breach, at least if I am to beleive the Information of the peple here, who denounce all sorts of Terrors to me . . . I am threaten'd at the same time with being froze to death, bur'd in the Snow, and taken by the Tartars who ravage that part of Hungary I am to passe” (Letter, 16 January 1717). Lady Mary's observations of the ruinous effects of the conflict between the Habsburgs and the Turks in the lack of cultivation, sparseness of the population, and extreme backwardness of the region were to be echoed by foreign travelers for the next two centuries

as the disparities between northwestern and southeastern Europe increased.

Foreign travelers were again discouraged by the outbreak of the Wars of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), but, as peace returned, the number of Grand Tourists passing through the region began to increase. Vienna, established as the principal social and cultural focus of Central Europe, was particularly popular with German travelers, many of whom also visited Prague. A few, like Johann Georg Keyssler (1693–1743), extended their tour to northern Hungary or Budapest.

Few foreigners ventured further, although there was a fairly steady stream of travelers passing through Poland to Russia and to Turkey via Bukovina and the Balkans, as diplomats traveling east were joined by adventurers, antiquarians, scholars, and merchants. In the second half of the eighteenth century, western travelers, observing the dirt, poverty, and decay of the eastern provinces, compared them unfavorably that the cleanliness and order that they now began to associate with "civilized" Europe and "enlightened" values. Traveling through Poland in 1778, William Coxe (1747–1828) noted the bad state of the Galician roads, the villages "few and wretched beyond description," and wooden hovels full of filth and misery that gave everything "the appearance of extreme poverty" (1784). Cracow's "grandeur" was that of a "city in ruins." William Hunter, Lady Elizabeth Craven (1750–1828), Edward Daniel Clarke (1769–1822), and Adam Neale (d. 1832) contrasted the misery of the peasants with the lifestyle of the nobility and the gentry. The images of sheepskin-clad peasants and unwashed Jews with their matted tresses continued to figure in travelogues into the twentieth century.

Foreign travelers were invariably fascinated by the ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity of the peoples of Central Europe, although their sense of the differences was less acute than that of domestic travelers. The mixture of costumes and languages they encountered on city streets provided an endless source of anecdotal material. The habits and dress of the eastern Jews were regarded with horrified fascination, while the term *Oriental*s was frequently used, not just of the Balkan Muslims, but also of the extensive Jewish populations found throughout the empire. German-speaking travelers passing through Bohemia were increasingly conscious of the linguistic and cultural differences of the Slavic races. The composer Mozart (1756–1791), a German-speaking resident of Vienna, regarded his visits to Prague as excursions into a culturally different world. The influence of Johann Herder (1744–1803) and Alberto Fortis (1741–1803) led some Germans to take an interest in the folklore and customs of the south. Fortis had participated in a scientific ex-

pedition in 1770 from Venice to Dalmatia, and his account helped to prepare the way for nineteenth-century perceptions of the southern Slavic lands as a kind of ethnic folk museum. The sense of a lack of clear-cut cultural boundaries was evident in the persistence of terms like *Tatars* to refer to the non-Germanic peoples. Friedrich Stolberg (1750–1819) noted that Carniola was inhabited by "Vandals." In some areas, northern Protestants sometimes found the intense and superstitious Catholicism disturbing.

After the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1814, the growth in traffic to Italy brought more visitors to Vienna's palaces, art collections, and gardens. While the city's cultural life appealed to middle-class German tourists, the British were usually more interested in the city's reputation for its thriving social life. Visitors continued to view the city and its multiethnic population as a gateway to the East. The poet Gérard de Nerval (1808–1855) associated it with the imaginary world of literary Bohemia in which conventional standards of behavior were weakened or inverted: in Munich, he visited museums, but in Vienna, he chased women.

Although the spas of the "real" Bohemia and the eastern Alps attracted visitors like Peter Turnbull (1786–1852) and Augustus Granville, M.D. (1783–1872), Frances Trollope (1780–1863) was still able to observe in 1838 that "there was no country in Europe so little known, and so little understood" as Austria. One of the first British travelers to make the eastward journey to the Balkans using the new Danubian steamboats was Michael Quin (1796–1843). Others, like Adolphus Slade (c. 1802–1877), soon followed. Taking a train through Germany, once in Prague this naval officer's familiarity with the East enabled him to detect the "influence of Turkishness on tastes," which "becomes more evident, the further one advances eastwards, until in Transylvania and Croatia, distinctions cease." Johann Georg Köhl (1808–1878) felt Bohemia to be separate from the rest of the world and, anticipating the future, noted that Prague "has become a city full of ruins and palaces, that will secure to the city an enduring interest for centuries to come" (1843).

Unlike Julia Pardoe (1806–1862), Slade escaped quarantine in the lazaretto on the Balkan border. Instituted by the Habsburgs in 1770, quarantine was compulsory for all travelers from the Balkans and was enforced by the army stationed along the military frontier. British travelers saw the real function of the restrictions as the prevention of intercourse between the peoples of the Balkans and those of the empire. In the 1840s, John Paget (1808–1892) made several tours of Hungary, including one down the Danube to Orsova, then overland to Temesvar, and on into Transylvania. His influential *Hungary and Transylvania*

(1839) stimulated the interest of other travelers. Like Julia Pardoe, Archibald Paton (1811–1874), and Charles Boner (1815–1870), Paget also took a relatively positive view of the Magyars, who were generally seen as the victims of Austrian repression. These ethnographic observations, together with those of Emily Gerard (1849–1905), served as useful background for the fictional travelogue of Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897).

By the 1870s, the clientele of the west Bohemian spas was international. The hinterland was still primarily of interest only to writers and artists, like Walter Crane (1845–1915), who, under the influence of the Arts and Crafts movement, were becoming interested in folk art. The frontier town of Cracow and the port of Trieste were now easily accessible from Vienna and Budapest, now the Hungarian capital, while the Orient Express linked Central Europe to Paris and Constantinople. The new carriage road over the Brenner Pass was overtaken by the railway. The increased accessibility of the resorts of the eastern Alps, the Dolomites, and the Carpathians made them more popular with climbers, pedestrians, and those taking cures. The mythical status of the Carpathians, described by Charles Boner in 1865 as “a barricade against northern barbarism, and Turkish hate and tyranny,” was indicated by their representation in maps and atlases as a continuous physical boundary around Hungary. Standing on a ridge in the Tatra Mountains, James Bryce (1838–1922) was taken aback to see before him an “undulating land of forest covered hills” no more real than the “Mountains of the Moon” over which one “could see out over the plains into Russia.”

The persistent anti-Austrian feelings that had generated sympathy for the Magyar rebels of 1848, whom the British and French associated with romantic notions of liberty and independence, had not yet extended that sympathy to the Slavic peoples, although Georgina Mackenzie (Sebright) and her niece Adeline Irby adopted the cause of the southern Slavs. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the gradual political decay of the Habsburg empire and the backward state of its eastern territories led some western travelers to describe their inhabitants in the language of Western colonialism. Andrew Crosse, a firm believer in “self-help” and technological progress, toured the Banat and Transylvania in the 1880s. Crosse compared the Wallachians (Romanians) to “children” who needed guidance and a “firm hand,” and he viewed the “contentment” of the Saxons as possibly the first sign of “rotteness” and “the deterioration of a race which does not progress.” He described the empire as an anachronistic “hotch-potch of races, so to speak, all in one boat, but ready to do anything rather than pull together.” By the end of the century, the unresolved

nature of the Eastern question and a growing awareness of the nationalities question led some travelers to regard the heedless gaiety of imperial Vienna as a symptom of the empire's political decay. The robber bands on the Balkan frontiers appeared as a sign of the permeable, fragile nature of the political and cultural boundaries separating internal order from external anarchy.

At the same time, tourists were attracted to Poland and Hungary by the mountains and the Hungarian romances of Mór Jókai (1825–1904), while the lack of amenities testified to the “authenticity” of the traveler's journey. Ellen Browning, Margaret Fletcher, and Nina Elizabeth Mazuchelli (1832–1914), a “Fellow of the Carpathian Society,” painted lively, if romanticized, pictures of the Hungarian countryside and its colorful inhabitants. Lion Phillimore, camping in the Carpathians, associated gypsy music with a romantic independence of spirit that transcended territorial borders. Actual encounters with real gypsies and peasants newly returned from America dissolved the magic.

The historian Robert Seton-Watson (1879–1951), traveling in Hungary from 1906 to 1908, found that Hungary's political system was not as liberal as he had thought. His subsequent writings did much to promote interest in the Slavic lands, especially sympathy for the Czechs. After World War I, when the Habsburg empire collapsed into separate states, through the interwar period and the subsequent rise and fall of Communist Eastern Europe, the ghost of the old Habsburg empire continued to haunt travelogues of *Mittel Europa* (Central Europe). Recent travelers have included Patrick Leigh Fermor, Stephen Brook, Dervla Murphy, and Jan Morris, while Claudio Magris's *Danube* retraces the old route to the Bosphorus.

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See also **Danube River**

CHAMPLAIN, SAMUEL DE (1567–1635)

French Explorer, Geographer, and Administrator

A man of action with an inordinate amount of energy, Champlain is the true founder of New France. Very little is known about him before his first voyage to Canada in 1603. He himself claimed to have traveled to the West Indies before that date, although it is uncertain whether *Bref Discours des choses plus remarquables que Samuel Champlain de Brouage a reconneues aux Indes occidentales* (*Brief Narrative of the Most Remarkable Things That Samuel de Champlain of Brouage Observed in the West Indies, 1599–1601*) may be attributed to him. Whatever the case may be, the explorer never saw fit to publish the text under his own name. One should therefore be extremely careful when judging its authenticity.

On 15 March 1603, with no official title, Champlain embarked on his first trip to Canada. From Tadoussac to Quebec City, and then on to Hochelaga (Montreal), Champlain followed in Jacques Cartier's steps, displaying remarkable intuition when he guessed the existence of Hudson Bay to the north and was able to get an accurate idea of the Great Lake system to the west. He nonetheless remained convinced that the Asian Sea was not far off and that direct access was from Acadia, rather than from Canada. Moreover, the Sieur de Prévert had expressed the hope that mines could be found in Acadia. For these two reasons, both of which proved groundless, Acadia would be the destination of Champlain's next voyage.

Upon returning to France, Champlain published a narration entitled *Des Sauvages* (*Of Savages*) (1603). In it, he enters into a theological dispute with Tessouat, an Amerindian chief, thus providing a unique source of information on Amerindian mythology. This first narration is clearly a response to the humanist aesthetics of foreign "wonders," which required that readers marvel at the eloquent harangue in praise of the king delivered by a Sagamore grand chief; at the depiction of women and girls who, as they danced, "commencerent à quitter leurs robes de peaux, & se meirent toutes nuës, monstrans leur nature" (proceeded to cast off their mantles of skins, and stripped themselves stark naked, showing their privities); and at men "qui parlent au diable visiblement" (who speak to the Devil face to face) or who are "du tout monstrueux pour la forme qu'ils ont" (of a perfectly monstrous shape). Such an influence is confirmed at the end of the narration when the traveller describes

un monstre espouvantable que les sauvages appellent Gougou . . . [de] la forme d'une femme, mais fort effroyable, & d'une telle grandeur, qu'ils me disoient que le bout des mats de nostre vaisseau ne luy fust pas venu jusques à la ceinture.

(a dreadful monster, which the natives call Gougou . . . it had the form of a woman, but most hideous, and of such a size that according to them the tops of the masts of our vessels would not reach his waist.)

(*Des Sauvages*, 1603, xiii)

In March 1604, Champlain set sail on the Acadian expedition, commanded by the Protestant Pierre du Gua de Monts. Searching for a site to establish a permanent colony, he explored the Baie Française (Bay of Fundy), discovering within it another bay he named Port-Royal (Annapolis, Nova Scotia), which a year later would become, and would remain, the capital of Acadia. The small island of Sainte-Croix, however, was chosen as the site for the first winter (1604–1605), a choice that proved disastrous because of the cold and scurvy. The next summer, Champlain explored and charted the coastline of what would become New England, sailing as far as Mallebarre (Nauset Harbor). Jean de Biencourt de Poutrincourt, accompanied by, among others, the lawyer and poet Marc Lescarbot, arrived in the course of the summer of 1606. That winter, Champlain created the Ordre de Bon Temps (Order of Good Cheer), a gargantuan corporation of joyful eaters. In the early spring, the revocation of the trade monopoly forced the entire colony to return to France.

Invested for the first time with an official function, Champlain embarked as lieutenant to the Sieur de Monts in April 1608, heading once again for the St. Lawrence, on the banks of which he established, on 3 July, a habitation. According to tradition, this is his first claim to fame: the founding of Quebec City. Over

traveled extensively along the sea routes from Portugal to Asia Minor. Studied in Cordoba for several years. Emigrated to court of Roger II in Sicily, c. 1138. Commissioned by Roger II to compose a description of the known world; awarded king's pension for this work. Died in Sicily, 560/1165.

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Al-Idrisi's book covers a large part of the ancient world. Since its publication in 1154 it has drawn the attention of scholars the world over, resulting in a huge number of translations and studies. A complete list is too extensive to be printed here. In recent years Italian, Spanish, and English articles on al-Idrisi and translations of sections from the *Nuzaht* appeared in the Italian bulletin *Studi Magrebini*, 1986–1996. Al-Idrisi, *Nuzaht al-Mushtaq fi ikhtiraq al-afaq* [The Delight of Him Who Desires to Traverse the Horizons], also known as *Kitab Rujar*, completed in 1154.

ILLUSTRATION

Visual representations have played an important role in the way in which foreign places and their inhabitants have been imaged in narratives of travel and exploration. Their nature and format have been determined not only by the state of printing technology, but also the nature and purpose of the particular work.

One of the most important illuminated travel manuscripts of the Middle Ages was a compilation known as the *Marvels of the East* (c. fourth century CE), depicting the strange peoples supposed to live in Asia and Africa. A few copies survive of illustrated descriptions of the travels of Marco Polo and Odoric of Pordenone, as well as two luxury fifteenth-century versions, both indebted to previous pictorial traditions including the *Marvels of the East*.

The forerunners of the illustrated travel book were the block-books, in which both text and image were cut on wood. Like the guidebook *Mirabilia urbis Romanae* [Marvels of Rome], they often appeared in many different series and editions. *Mirabilia urbis Romanae*, written in the twelfth century, was the most influential guidebook of the medieval period. Organized in three main sections, it retold Christian legends, described the virtues of pagan Rome, and described an itinerary through the city beginning with St. Peter's and noting the architectural monuments along the route. After the invention of movable type (c. 1450) travel books were among the minority of printed books illustrated by woodcuts. The technique permitted text and image to be printed simultaneously. Images were invariably borrowed or reused, functioning as forms of stereotype as in the *Nuremberg Chronicles* of 1493, where the images of cities depicted what was assumed to be typical of the subject. Accounts of exploratory travels to

exotic foreign lands often incorporated illustrations such as those produced by Hans Burgkmair (1473–1531) for an account of the first German voyage to the Portuguese islands in which he depicted different countries and their inhabitants.

One of the first-known travel books to represent the sights as they were actually seen by the artist was an account of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1483 by Bernhard von Breydenbach (1440–1497), for he employed one of the first professional illustrators, Erhard Reuwich (c. 1455–1490), who accompanied him. In 1533–1534 the Netherlandish artist Pieter van Aelst Coecke (1502–1550) traveled to Constantinople to make drawings for a series of woodcuts for the series *Customs and Fashions of the Turks* (1553). During this period copper engraving began to replace woodcuts in deluxe books, achieving tonal effects and a sharpness of detail that compensated for the inconvenience and cost of printing text and plates separately. The early metal engravers often elaborated on the original drawing and in Germany prestigious artists like Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) raised the status of print as an artistic medium. Initially only the title pages of books were illustrated but by the middle of the century it was common to find engraved illustrations throughout. The medium was frequently used to illustrate travel books, such as the guide *Newes itinerarium Italiae* (1627), published by Josef Furttenbach the Elder, based on his own experience, it was illustrated with several realistic views as well as plans of buildings.

By the early sixteenth century, artists were sometimes included in the retinues of traveling aristocrats such as the diplomat Thomas Howard for whom Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–1677) produced topographical sketches of his travels in Germany during the Thirty Years War. By the second half of the century, artists were accompanying the Spanish expeditions to the New World to produce visual records of their discoveries: Johan Maurits, the Dutch governor of Brazil, took artists with him to make sketches for the woodcuts illustrating the *Historia naturalis Brasiliae* [Natural History of Brazil]; Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues (1533–1588) traveled with René de Laudonnière's Huguenot expedition to Florida; in 1588 Sir Walter Raleigh commissioned John White to produce a visual record of the new English settlement. The work of these artists formed the basis for some of the engravings issued by the Frankfurt publisher Theodor de Bry (1528–1598), which established long-lasting, stereotypical formats for depicting American Indians and their artifacts.

The persistence of established forms of imagery was evident in the illustrations of the seventeenth-century luxury travel books, often derived from earlier woodcuts. These were concerned with topography, architec-

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A typical eighteenth-century blend of the allegorical and the exotic to whet the imagination of potential readers (Bernard Picart's engraved frontispiece to the Sieur de la Motraye's *Voyages . . . en Europe, en Asie et en Afrique*, 1727). Courtesy of Travellers Club, London; Bridgeman Art Library, agent.

ture, and costume and were produced for wealthy collectors in the Netherlands and Italy. An important influence on eighteenth-century architectural guidebooks was *Entwurf einer Historischen Architektur* [Historical Architecture] (1721) by Fischer von Erlach (1656–1723), which surveyed all the famous monuments then known and placed each in its historical and geographical context in an attempt at accuracy. Natural

wonders were included to indicate the nature of the country. The work continued to influence the way in which many guidebooks depicted monuments, as objects of scientific interest but also romantic symbols of cultural decay.

In the second half of the eighteenth century artists and draftsmen were often employed to accompany wealthy travelers like Robert Wood (1717–1791) or

William Beckford (1760–1844), to record their scientific or antiquarian observations or to “take the view.” William Hodges (1744–1797) traveled to the South Pacific in 1772 with James Cook (1728–1779). Many of his images of the landscape were inspired by the “sublime.” The visual records of such expeditions—maps, charts, drawings, and journals—were incorporated into the published accounts, although the original sketches were sometimes altered by successive engravers. Many of the engravings relating to Cook’s account of his journey (1784) were as much of ethnographic as topographical interest.

Scientific attempts to describe the natural world of the kind undertaken by early visitors to mountains and glaciers sometimes came into conflict with picturesque and romantic attitudes to landscape. The new taste for the picturesque encouraged travelers to examine the scene before them as if in a picture. As sketching became increasingly popular with both artists and patrons, it became accepted as an artistic medium. The artist Alexander Cozens (1717–1786) advocated the use of the inkblot method as a way of giving visual expression to the relationship between landscape and the emotions it invoked in the spectator. Some of his ideas were put into practice by his son, John Robert (1752–1798), who accompanied Richard Payne Knight (1751–1824) to the Alps. Cozens’s images evoking the “sublime” influenced the way that other travelers and artists viewed mountainous scenery.

At the end of the eighteenth century the important new reproductive technique of lithography, drawing on stone, was developed. Thomas Bewick (1753–1828) revived the woodcut by printing on the hard endgrain of boxwood, producing images comparable with those of metal engraving, which could be printed simultaneously with type. Dominique Vivant Denon (1747–1825) was an example of an artist who, as part of the French expedition to Egypt in 1798, tried to make objective visual recordings of sites and monuments, drawing only objects “that stood before his eyes.” The “scientific” attitude toward the recording of natural and historic sites sometimes conflicted with picturesque and romantic attitudes to landscape and, despite the growing trend toward naturalism, many topographical artists continued to use their sketches for different purposes and to invoke scenes other than the original subject. Romanticism strengthened interest in the exotic aspects of the traveler’s experience, vividly expressed in the images of India by Thomas Daniell (1749–1840) and the Near East by David Roberts (1796–1864).

By the 1820s lithography was becoming the preeminent medium for topographical travel books although stipple engraving, mezzotint, and hand-colored aquatints were all used, often in combination. Alexander von Humboldt’s massive *Voyages* project (1807–

1834) was illustrated and edited by a team of engravers, painters, and lithographers. J.M.W. Turner (1775–1857) used steel engraving for his book illustrations, as in the *Rivers of France* (1833–1835). Many professional artists like Edward Lear (1812–1888) valued lithography for its direct, autographic quality, while amateur artists who wished to illustrate their travel memoirs could have their watercolor sketches touched up by the new breed of reproductive lithographers. Woodcuts continued to be popular. Edward Whymper (1840–1911), a professional engraver, used them to illustrate his account of the ascent of the Matterhorn (1860), although he himself only provided the sketches. Better-quality woodcut images were often printed in color.

The empirical attitude of the scientists continued to encourage the translation of accurate observations into meticulous visual records of what had actually been seen. Classes in drawing were included in the curriculum of British naval officers so that they could record useful navigational and topographical information. The new reproductive techniques suited the kind of visual records produced by topographical artists like George Back (1796–1828), a young naval officer who accompanied Sir John Franklin’s Arctic expedition (1819–1822), William Bell, John Ross, and William Bradford (1823–1892); the last-named participated in the second expedition to find Franklin (1850–1851).

Photography became rapidly popular as a documentary medium, in ethnographic fieldwork, for example. Thomas Mitchell, a naval officer with George Nares’s polar expedition (1875–1876), took photographs which were then reproduced photomechanically for incorporation into the account of the voyage. By the 1880s the process of photogravure made it possible to reproduce all kinds of images. The self-illustrated travel book became a popular medium of expression for both professional artists and amateurs, especially when color reproduction made it possible to do justice to the watercolor sketch. By the early twentieth century photography was the supreme medium for scientific and documentary purposes, while lithography, woodcuts, and etching were used primarily in the illustration of artists’ travelogues.

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See also **Photography**

IMPERIALIST NARRATIVES

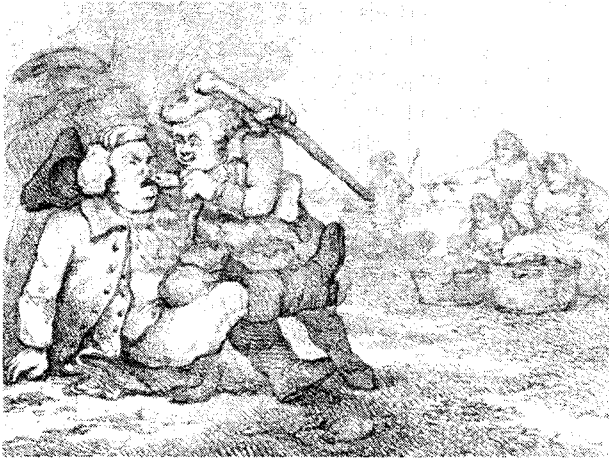
Imperialism refers to the authority and power assumed by one state over another territory. Imperialist narratives celebrate and promote the idea of empire, and are particularly evident in European travel writing and literature during the period of European mercantile expansion and colonization from about 1500 to 1940. New Imperialism refers to the conscious policy of imperialism practiced by Britain in the late Victorian period from about 1870. In the last 15 years of the nineteenth century, some 3.75 million square miles were added to the British empire, making it nearly 100 times larger than the mother country, with some 50 colonies across the globe (Hobson, 1902). In 1900, the French empire was one-third the size of the British, and yet was still roughly the size of all other European possessions put together, and was nearly 20 times the size of the mother country. This was the heyday of empire, and especially that of the British empire, as a fully global political and economic reality.

The "idea of empire" is a common theme in European and world history. In England, the idea of empire is already seeded in the English Renaissance—indeed it may be a contributory factor to, and certainly a characteristic of, the European Renaissance as a whole. In the sixteenth century, the Americas and Ireland were already falling prey to the imperial gaze—see, for example, Edmund Spenser's description of an unconquered Ireland in *A View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596) and Thomas Harriot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590). In this age of exploration and discovery, voyage narratives invariably reveal imperialistic tone and ambition. Spain and Portugal led the way in the Americas and in the Far East; France, Britain, most other West European countries, the United States, Russia, Turkey, and China were all colonial powers by 1900. By that time, the empires of Spain and Portugal were crumbling, so by the time of the European scramble for Africa in the 1880s Spain was no longer an imperial power, and Portugal was struggling to maintain her remaining colonies.

Before this age of European expansion, the empires of ancient Greece and Rome had come and gone. From antiquity, Alexander's *Letter to Aristotle*, describing his legendary campaign in Asia, and *The Histories* of Herodotus are both imperialist in that, in common with later imperialist narratives, they assume European superiority and sovereignty over alien and exotic lands, usually located in a geographically vague "East." This eurocentrism is found in maps from classical times, and in the *mappae mundi* of the Middle Ages (e.g., the Hereford *Mappa Mundi*, c. 1300). In this premodern era, the Mediterranean region is the center of the known world and the further from this "cradle of civilization" one travels, the greater the likelihood of encountering monsters, strange beasts, and wonders. The same material of a fanciful and mythical Orient turns up again in the imperialist narratives of European discovery, where the exotic elements serve as enticement to would-be colonizers and the depiction of subhuman cannibals and pagans deprecates the natives, thereby justifying their being brought under the authority and civilizing influence of the Christian conquerors and colonizers.

Colonialism is an extension and consolidation of imperialism as settlement, government, and exploitation of foreign territories. Some imperialist narratives record new possessions, rewriting and appropriating the place, its people, and their histories, subsuming all of this into the empire. For example, after the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt, a great archive was produced, the 24-volume *Description de L'Égypte* (1809–1828), which established a standard for assimilating the material of the East into Western history. In the eighteenth century, scientific surveys contributed to a body of knowledge that mapped and classified the world from a eurocentric perspective. Linnaeus's *System of Nature* (1735) sets out to classify plants through a global taxonomy using Latin nomenclature. This may seem innocent and objective, but the process of defining the natural history of the world by and through a Western system of survey and naming is imperialist in ambition. In 1758, Linnaeus divided *homo sapiens* from *homo monstrosus* and posited hierarchical classifications for different races, with, of course, Christian Europeans at the top of the pyramid. The distinctions made here between the European, the Asian, and the African established what would become influential, pseudoscientific excuses for the racism implicit in European imperialism.

Scientific expeditions in the eighteenth century carried Linnaeus's project literally to the ends of the world. Captain Cook's voyages to the South Seas in the 1770s, for example, carried botanists to survey and collect samples of new species. But the narratives of Cook's three voyages also reveal more direct imperial-



"Scottifying the Palate": Boswell force-feeds the reluctant Johnson, who had a low opinion of many things Scottish—in particular, the food (from Thomas Rowlandson and Samuel Collings's *The Picturesque Beauties of Boswell*, 1786). Courtesy of the British Library, London.

must be a very sturdy moralist, who does not love Scotland better than truth."

Within Johnson's oeuvre, the *Journey* is a minor classic; in Scotland, it was a national scandal that provoked many attacks, including the "malignant abuse" of the Revd. Donald McNicol's *Remarks* (1779). David Hume spoke of it to Boswell "in terms so slighting that it could have no effect but to show his resentment"; Macpherson demanded that Johnson withdraw his opinion of Ossian, to which he replied: "I received your foolish and impudent letter. Any violence offered me I shall do my best to repel; and what I cannot do for myself, the law shall do for me. I hope I shall never be deterred from detecting what I think a cheat by the menaces of a ruffian." Still controversial in Scotland, the *Journey* is an honest meditation on the transition from a feudal to modern society.

IAN MCGOWAN

Biography

Born in Lichfield, Staffordshire, 18 September 1709. Son of a bookseller. Educated at Lichfield Grammar School and the Stourbridge School, to age 16. Attended Pembroke College, Oxford, 1728–1729. Schoolmaster in Staffordshire and Leicestershire, 1730s. Married Elizabeth Porter, 1735 (d. 1752). Traveled with the actor David Garrick, one of his pupils, to London; settled there, 1737. Professional writer from 1737: *The Vanity of Human Wishes* (poem), 1749; *Irene* (play), 1749; *Rambler* essays, 1750–1752; *Dictionary of the English Language*, 1755; *Rasselas* (fiction), 1759; *Edition of Shakespeare*, 1773; *Journey to*

the Western Islands of Scotland, 1775, based on 1773 tour with Boswell; *Lives of the Poets*, 1779–1781. Cataloged the library of the second earl of Oxford, 1742. M.A., Oxford University, 1755; LL.D., Trinity College, Dublin, 1765; Doctor of Civil Laws, Oxford University, 1775. Awarded royal pension, 1762. Formed the Literary Club, 1766. Toured north Wales, 1774, and northern France, 1775. Died in London, 13 December 1784.

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See also **Boswell, James**

JOURNALISTS AND JOURNALISM

Nowhere is the ambiguous status of travel writing as literary genre more clearly exposed than in its relationship to the press. The distinction between journalism and travel writing has never been straightforward: many travel writers have financed their travels by writing about them in the press, and many journalists who have traveled in the course of their work subsequently published travel books. Reviews of travel books in the press have helped to create a market for travel writing, and travel journalism has contributed to the development of a number of different forms of modern travel and tourism in terms of which "travel writers" have self-consciously defined their activities.

The eighteenth-century press responded to public interest in the geography, political organization, and culture of foreign nations, publishing informative extracts from books of travel and exploration, often of a scientific nature. This practice was continued in the nineteenth century by American journals like *Harper's* and *Atlantic*; and in the twentieth century, dispatches from eastern Tibet in 1911–1912 by the British imperial explorer Eric Bailey (1882–1967) were printed verbatim.

In the nineteenth century, the expansion of the daily and periodical press created new opportunities for writers who traveled to finance and publicize their adventures, so that then, as now, many travel books originated in articles for the press, even though their authors did not think of themselves as journalists. Many writers such as the French poet Gérard de Nerval (1808–1855), Anthony Trollope (1815–1882), Bayard Taylor (1825–1878), Margaret Fuller (1810–1850), editor of *The Dial*, and Amelia Edwards (1831–1892) wrote for the

periodical press as a means of entering the literary marketplace. Essays by Edith Wharton (1862–1937), W.H. Howells (1837–1920), Henry James (1843–1916), and D.H. Lawrence (1885–1930) were examples of the type of self-consciously reflective form of travel writing, in the mode of “writer as sensorium” (Clifford, 1997), cultivated by writers with literary ambitions who wished to distinguish themselves from more overtly commercial forms of travel anecdotes.

Many magazines, particularly those with a middle-class family readership, regularly incorporated features on tourist travel, providing openings for the new class of professional writers who, working mainly as journalists in the conventional sense, wrote primarily for the press. George Augustus Sala (1828–1895) was an example of the professional journalists who regularly used their own travels as material. Sala was sent to the United States in 1865 to view the aftermath of the Civil War as a “special” or “occasional” correspondent. Other well-known journalists who traveled included Charles Dickens (1812–1870), Mark Twain (1835–1910), and Henry Adams (1838–1913). Some journalists, like Henry Morton Stanley (1841–1904), notorious for his meeting with David Livingstone in 1871, traveled in search of stories.

From the middle of the nineteenth century, the need of major papers like the *London Times* to cover overseas news created professional foreign correspondents. Initially, these were residents of the main European capitals and cities, selected for their influential contacts, knowledge of the language, and ability to cope with the locality. Later in the century, papers dispatched their own journalists. Sent to locations with which they were often unfamiliar, they frequently failed to share the political culture of the peoples whom they were observing and, therefore, tended to represent the point of view of the diplomats, colonial administrators, and politicians on whom they were dependent for information and social life.

Some journalists became established as war correspondents and were dispatched to wherever conflagrations occurred. E.F. Knight (1852–1925), for example, accredited to the *Times* in Kashmir, accompanied the British army in various bloody excursions along the Indian frontier. Among the best-known war journalists were William Russell (1820–1907), Archibald Forbes (1838–1900), G.A. Henty (1832–1902), and Bennet Burleigh (d. 1914). Laurence Oliphant (1829–1888), who also wrote travel books, worked as a war correspondent in the Middle East. One of the most influential of American foreign correspondents was Richard Harding Davis (1864–1916), whose lively accounts of places around the world and foreign crises in the 1890s captured the public imagination.

From the second half of the nineteenth century on, the expansion of the traveling public and the growth of commercialized forms of travel for leisure purposes led to the appearance of travel journalism of the “where and how to go” variety, of which one of the earliest British examples was the travel features in *Queen: The Ladies Magazine*, aimed at the upper classes and edited by Helen Lowe, herself the author of two travel books. The journal’s information service helped to foster a “culture of travel” among its female readers.

From the 1880s on, new titles catered to a readership increasingly differentiated by social class, gender, and particular interests. An early example of a journalist who specialized in travel journalism for the upper classes was Ethel Tweedie (née Harley; d. 1940). For a different readership, the *Wide World Magazine* specialized in “truth is stranger than fiction” narratives of imperial adventure, while the travel agent Henry Lunn used *Travel* to promote cycling tours by serializing a round-the-world cycling trip.

World War I restricted travel to soldiers and war correspondents, but in the interwar period, many British and American journalists who traveled professionally, like Evelyn Waugh (1903–1966), Rebecca West (1892–1962), Ernest Hemingway (1891–1961), Martha Gellhorn (1908–), and Lowell Thomas (1892–1981), who mythologized T.E. Lawrence of Arabia and wrote about early air travel, published descriptions of their travels. The Frenchwoman Alexandra David-Néel (1868–1969) became known for her extensive travels in eastern Asia after being commissioned to interview the Dalai Lama in Darjeeling in 1911.

Mass tourism in the twentieth century reinforced the sense of many “travelers” that they wished to be different, encouraging them to seek places where they could engage with “authentic” travel experiences while becoming even more dependent than their predecessors on financing and publicizing their travels through their relationship with the press. Journalism enabled travelers and writers like Laurens van der Post (1906–1997) to support themselves, and it was the means by which others like Henry St. John Bridger Philby (1885–1960) and Robert Byron (1905–1941) could turn their adventures into salable assets.

In the post-war period, these developments continued as the growth of mass tourism to long-haul destinations and the expanded media coverage of leisure and travel created a vast market for travel journalism of the kind that enabled aspiring travelers and writers like Bruce Chatwin (1940–1989), Paul Theroux (1941–), Jonathan Raban (1942–), and Bill Bryson (1951–) to earn a living, buy periods of time for traveling and writing, and promote their work.

JILL STEWARD

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See also **Travel Essays**

JOURNALS OF LITERATURE OF TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION

Journals can be defined as academic or more popular publications issued in a periodical format; originally, journals referred to publications in a hard copy or paper format, but now many are also issued online at their own websites.

Among the earliest journals were the Jesuit newsletters, progress reports on individual missions that were submitted by Jesuit missionaries in India, the East Indies, China, and Japan to the headquarters of the Society of Jesus in Rome, where those considered suitable for a wider audience were edited and published in various languages. Since all reports of the Eastern missions were relayed to Goa for dispatch with the annual Portuguese fleet to Europe, they are sometimes known as the “Indian letters.” Five categories are distinguished by Donald F. Lach in his *Asia in the Making of Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965): individual letters intended for Jesuit superiors’ eyes only, usually justifications of particular policies and actions; letters to the Society in general, hortatory in

tone, to stimulate greater interest in the overseas missions; accounts for general publication couched in restrained language; letters to personal friends either within the Society or outside, very often descriptive in nature; and “allied documents”—detailed reports on particular topics, histories of individual missions, or highly informative chronicles narrating the story of the Jesuit enterprise as experienced by those at the sharp end. Eventually, many were collected and published in book form; see Correia-Afonso, 1969.

Better known was the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, published 1830–1880, at first in two parts a year, briefly in three, and then, after volume 20, in one annual volume “containing papers communicated by travellers, by academic geographers, by Honorary Corresponding Members of the Society in all parts of the world, and with frequent use of information from the Foreign and Colonial Offices” (Middleton, 1978). These were supplemented by reviews, maps, the annual presidential address, and information concerning the Society’s administration, projects, and awards. Delays in publication and its rather dull, heavily formal appearance caused some Fellows of the Society to urge a more popular and punctual magazine-type publication be issued. Clements Markham, one of the Society’s secretaries, started it as *Our Ocean Highways* (1870–1873), then *Ocean Highways: The Geographical Review* (April 1873–March 1874), independent of the Society. An announcement appeared in the 50th volume of the *Journal*, 1880, that “the ‘Proceedings’ published on the 1st of each month, and issued as a volume of each year, shall be, in future, the Society’s principal publication . . . Thus the *Journal* will end with the fiftieth volume.” Today, the *Journal* is considered a beacon in the annals of exploration (see Middleton, 1978). A series of decennial indexes allows more detailed access to its contents.

Another Society publication was the aforementioned *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*; 20 volumes in all—originally printed in parts, one for each of the Society’s sessions, namely, from October to June, then bound into volumes—were published from November 1855 to December 1878. The Old Series, containing papers read to the Society, with notes and correspondence, continued in joint harness with the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* until 1878. The success of Clements Markham’s *Ocean Highways* persuaded the Council of the Society that a less formal publication incorporating most of the features of *Ocean Highways*, or *Geographical Magazine*, as it had become, should replace the original series and the journal; the new publication appeared as *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*. Publication ceased when the *Geographical Journal* was inaugurated in

Performing Abroad: British Tourists in Italy and their Practices, 1840–1914*

Jill Steward

... Italy is the goal: and that, after Italy, you will understand everything else by the light of what you have learned in the “cities of the soul” – Venice, Rome and Florence ... Italy is the key by which you may unlock the secret of Europe. (Grant Allen 1901: 33–4)¹

The relationship between British tourists and Italian architecture is both complex and longstanding. To the British the architectural monuments of Italy represented classical civilization, early Christianity and Renaissance art and culture while its more recent churches and palaces stood for Catholicism and political decay, its landscapes and people represented sun and sensuality. In the 1840s these perceptions still provided the general framework of expectation with which tourists set out, but in the later decades of the nineteenth century the arrival of new types of travelers with different social and cultural backgrounds led to changes in the practices of cultural tourism accompanied by new forms of tourist experience.

This chapter focuses on the behavior of British tourists traveling in Italy as it was manifested in practices that were both expressive and constitutive of different forms of social and cultural identity. For this purpose it is helpful to think of tourism as an art of performance and a cultural practice of movement (Adler 1989a: 1368; Hetherington 1998: 117; Edensor 1998: 61–8), inflected by boundaries of social class, gender and nationality (Leask 2002: 4). Generations of Britons toured Italy’s historic cities, their ruins and monuments, churches and cultural artefacts, galleries and museums, streets and places of entertainment seeking various forms of cultural education and individual satisfaction. The particular ways in which individuals interacted with the different environments in which they found themselves and enacted the role of tourist were deeply influenced by their own individual social and cultural histories and shaped by the legacy of the *habitus*

*An earlier version of parts of this chapter appeared in *Journeys: an International Journal of Travel and Travel Writing*, 2000; vol. 1, issues 1/2.

Defining a Canon and a Mode of Perception

from which they derived their distinctive modes of feeling and thinking (Bourdieu 1978: 170–2).

As performance, tourism constitutes a way of “world-making” or “self-fashioning” (Goodman 1978 cited in Adler 1989: 1368). A great deal has been written about traditional modes of travel and associated narratives that bestow a particular form of identity upon the traveler (Todorov 1998). As travelers, tourists also have created their own distinctive tropes as they move through space, from one place to another, adopting corporeal and discursive strategies using the equivalent of classic aesthetic devices in the construction of the narratives through which they register their travels and evoke their realities for the audiences implied by the metaphor (Adler 1989: 1382–3). For the British tourist, “Italy” was a distinctive “world” the configurations of which functioned as a regulatory influence on the way its constitutive parts were perceived and performed (Chard 1996). Equally influential on tourist narratives was the way that particular places were imaged, perceived and directly experienced, an event that had to be registered through the acquisition of souvenirs and the sending of letters, sketches, photographs and postcards to others. This suggests that tourist practices are further regulated by “explicitly articulated standards of performance” associated with particular audiences. As audiences change, so do standards (Adler 1989: 1378) and performances (Schlechner 1981: 16) while particular styles of the latter offer a means through which individuals are able to express their perceptions of their situations and modes of being (Chaney 1993: 4).

“Ours is a nation of travelers,” observed the English poet Samuel Rogers (cited in Murray 1859: x) whose poem *Italy* was much beloved by tourists, notably Lord Byron, whose own works did much to shape nineteenth-century tourist behavior. In 1800 British travel to Italy was still dominated by aristocratic Grand Tourists with a growing middle-class presence (Towner 1985). By the 1830s the traditional Grand Tour was dead although the British dominated the main tourist centers until the 1870s when they were outnumbered by Americans and Germans. By 1900 modern Italy was very different to that of the past but it continued to exercise its hold over the British who regarded it as “the ideal venue for a summer holiday” (Sladen 1912: xix) while the modern travel industry and relatively cheap package tours began to make it accessible to new social groups. Changes in the social profile of British tourists were accompanied by cultural changes as the conventions evolved by a highly educated and leisured body of tourists were adapted to the needs of different types of travelers from different social and cultural backgrounds.

In the 1840s the average tour to Italy lasted for four to six months instead of the former two years or more (Towner 1996: 132). Steamships across the Channel and on major rivers like the Rhine and the Danube, improvements in roads, particularly over the Alps (thanks to Napoleon), and the construction and extension of the railways made the journey easier and more comfortable and began the compression

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of time and space that was to radically change the experience of travel. Viaducts, railway bridges and tunnels changed the face of the landscape, notably the view of Venice from the mainland, which Ruskin complained now resembled “as nearly as possible as Liverpool at the end of the dockyard wall” (1845 cited in Quill 2000: 31) rather than “a ghost upon the sands of the sea” (Ruskin 1858: vol. 1, 1).

The great bulk of British tourists continued to follow the same spatial patterns as the aristocratic Grand Tourists of the past, modified to accommodate the modern taste for sublime and romantic scenery of the kind particularly associated with the Rhine valley and the Alps. Itineraries were adapted to include Rhineland castles and brief tours of Switzerland. The romantic interest in the medieval world attracted tourists to new places of interest like Padua, Pisa and Arezzo, and the influential art critic John Ruskin to Venice. Despite the British distaste for Baroque architecture, particularly that of Rome, the city was still the ultimate destination for most tourists who wished to visit the architectural sites and monuments they associated with the history of their own culture and its origins in the classical and Christian past and the Renaissance. Tourists of the past looked at the overgrown ruins of the Colosseum and the Forum in Rome, the decaying villas of Tivoli, the Pantheon and the Arch of Constantine seeing them in the melancholy relics of a destroyed civilization. Looking back on his immediate predecessors James Sully reflected on the way that they had come to value these relics more for their aesthetic properties and literary associations, finding in the “imperfect beauty in broken arch, column and entablature, and in the great overgrown masses of crumbling masonry” (Sully 1912: 79) ample material upon which to project their own reflections and fantasies.

The Taylor family exemplified the new kind of middle-class family party now embarking on the tour and that often included women. In the autumn of 1839 they travelled from Geneva to Genoa, crossing the Alps before they became impassable, boarded a ship for Leghorn from whence they travelled to Florence, via Pisa. They wintered in Rome, staying for Carnival and Easter, then moving on to Naples they returned to Florence in late Spring, via the Apennines, and then on to Venice, Verona and Padua and back to Geneva, via the Simplon Pass. Excursions included trips to the “antique” ruins around Rome and Naples, as well as to Herculaneum, Pompeii, Vesuvius and the Greek temple at Paestum (Towner 1996: 117) and a stormy sea voyage to Amalfi. The daughter of a musician, Catherine Taylor approached the role of tourist with an earnestness typical of the new urban middle classes who were anxious to distinguish themselves from their aristocratic and gentrified predecessors and less genteel contemporaries.

The way that the new tourists conceived their role determined the way they approached the practice of sightseeing. The more serious engaged in preparatory reading and took with them portmanteaus of instructive works on Italian history, art and antiquities. Once abroad the registering of the journey in letters and journals

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was mandatory. A foreign “tour” for a middle-class family like the Taylors was not something to be undertaken lightly and, in a culture in which writing was regarded as a primary form of communication, individuals were expected to justify the expense of the trip by recording their experiences in journals and letters for the benefit of family and friends at home. Journal writing was a routine activity for cultivated women. Harriet Martineau’s advice to traveling journalists *How to Observe* was based on ethnographic and utilitarian principles and advocated the recording of daily impressions as the basis for more generalized and truthful observations that would benefit others (1838: 234–6).

Moreover, in an increasingly mobile and complex domestic society, the publication of reworked travel letters and journals had a positional use for their authors, particularly women like Catherine Taylor, in that they generated a wider audience before whom the demonstration of cultivation and competence as a tourist was a means of establishing the author’s credentials as a member of the “genteel” and “cultivated classes” and its associated literary culture. Travel writing also constituted a space in which the usual hierarchical distinctions of gender were not as strictly applied as with the novel (Frawley 1994). Catherine Taylor’s (1840–1: vol. 1, p. 260) published *Letters* contained detailed accounts of buildings she visited and were written ostensibly to educate her younger sister whom she warned against an “overly quick and imaginative response” in sightseeing because “the formation of opinions can only rest upon the exercise of the powers of the mind properly disciplined by study and reflection.” Such publications, like other forms of travel literature, positioned their female readers as potential tourists, showing them to engage with the role and making the adventure of foreign travel seem relatively normal. This function was particularly evident in the travel pages of the Samuel Beeton’s magazine *Queen*, which, in its early days, was aimed at middle-class women and offered a question-and-answer service and a letters column that dispensed sensible advice to lady travelers.

One of the strongest determinants of tourist behavior was a “sense of place.” This was almost overwhelming in the case of Italy where tourists came looking for a familiar but imaginary world that sometimes proved as elusive and insubstantial as the towers of Venice seen through the shifting haze of the lagoon. The architectural canon focused their attention on the pagan and Christian past rather than the present. The majority of British tourists regarded Catholicism with fear and antipathy. They also held stereotyped views of foreigners and their alien manners and mores (Chard 1996) and invariably disregarded Harriet Martineau’s (1838) injunction to avoid pre-conceived ideas and judgments. The widespread circulation of stereotyped descriptions and pictorial representations of contributed to the imageability of this “classic ground” (Lynch 1960: 9–10).² Medieval urban landscapes, classical ruins and architectural sites and monuments, domes and spires featured as key landmarks in the private inscapes of the weary travelers who,

nearing their destination, were suddenly thrilled by a glimpse of a familiar dome or spire. Approaching Rome across the dreary Campagna in 1846 the actress Fanny Kemble was suddenly aware that against:

the clear azure of the sky, a huge shadowy cupola suddenly rose up . . . the great vision rose higher and higher as we drove under its mighty mass; and as we turned within the Porta da Cavalleggeri and stopped again at the barrier, St Peter's stood over against us, towering into the violet-coloured sky, and it was real, – and I really saw it, I knew the huge pillars of the noble arcade, and the pale ghost-like shining of the moonlit fountains through the colonnades, I was in Rome and it was the Rome of my imagination. (Butler 1847: 116)

Many tourists self-consciously saw particular places through the eyes of others. Catherine Taylor allowed Goethe, her favored literary companion, to represent her feelings on arrival:

I now see all the dreams of my youth come alive, I am now seeing for real the first engravings I can remember (my father had views of Rome hanging in an antechamber) and everything I have for so long known in paintings and drawings, engravings and woodcuts, plaster and cork, now stands before me in one piece, wherever I go I find an acquaintance in a new world, it is all just as I imagined it and all new . . . (cited in Taylor 1840–1: 115)

Not everything was as expected. Kemble had not anticipated the chasm-like “dark, dismal stinking streets” of Rome “through which we now rattled.” The miseries of inadequate accommodation, bad smells, inclement weather, ill health and undesirable company were often just as memorable as the pleasures and disappointments associated with mandatory sights such as the Colosseum by moonlight (Birchall, 1985: 27). In places with no sidewalks the Wilson sisters only ventured out when the weather was good because the mud would ruin their skirts (Wilson 1987). Other experiences might include unfortunate encounters at the *table d'hôte* or on the promenade, lost luggage, wayward *vetturini* and *gondolieri* and sore feet. Most tourists used hotels on their arrival, then took apartments in neighbourhoods frequented by compatriots such as the Lungarno in Florence or the Piazza di Spagna in Rome where the artists' models congregating on the ‘great, wide, beautiful steps’ created a picturesque if slightly disturbing scene (Butler 1847: vol. I, 132).

English noses recognized the “smell of the Continent” that hung about so many hotels and streets. At the end of the century Florence was reputed to be one of Europe's filthiest cities where it was common practice to urinate on street walls (Leavitt 2002: 33). Bad smells were also associated with miasma, fever and death (Woodward, 2002: 26). The sounds of a place were as distinctive as its smell. The

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noise of Naples contrasted with the silence of Genoa's grass-grown streets, which Taylor preferred to the "busy streets and noisy multitudes of Leghorn." The silence of Venice was particularly striking while the sound of tourist laughter disrupted the awesome experience of the Colosseum at night. Places were also characterized by the pattern of the life flowing through their streets for while:

The crowd in London is uniform and intelligible, it is a double line in quick motion – it is the crowd of business, The crowd of Naples consists of a general tide rolling up and down, and in the middle of this tide a hundred eddies of men; here you are swept by the current there you are wheeled around by the vortex. (Taylor 1840, 2: 50–7)

Sightseeing is usually regarded as one of the constitutive acts of tourism: but what to see and how to see it? It was here that the weight of the many distinguished and literate tourists of the past bore increasingly heavily on those of the present. The original author of Murray's *Handbook to Northern Italy*, Francis Palgrave, thankfully remarked that the necessity of being useful to his readers saved him from "the pursuit of that originality of a tourist which consists in omitting to omit great works because they have been noticed by others, and in crying up some object which has been deservedly passed over" (Murray 1869: ix). The management of sightseeing was both expressive and constitutive of social and cultural identity and an important determinant of individual style. An extreme example of the latter was revealed in William Beckford's *Italy* (1834), a belated publication of his suppressed Grand Tour memoir *Dreams, Waking Thoughts and Incidents* (1783) in which his youthful and romantic sensibility found a "gothic" experience in an Italian inn where broken pavings and newly strewn earth intimated "something horrid was concealed beneath" (Beckford 1834: 227–8) more evocative than the architectural wonders of Rome.

More conventional nineteenth-century tourists were anxious to see the accredited and unmissable sights, helpfully identified in the first of the relatively modern guides Marianna Starke's *Letters* (1815) embellished with exclamation marks and commentary. Starke's list of what to see adhered closely to the traditional architectural canon listed in such scholarly works as Eustace (1813) and Hoare (1819) and was focused on the ruins of the "classical south," Renaissance churches and palaces and expeditions to sites of Greek and Roman antiquities. John Ruskin's highly influential *Stones of Venice* (1851–3) and its passionate defence of the Gothic placed the Byzantine and medieval architecture of that city firmly on the tourist map. It was not until the next century that the beauty of Italy's Baroque churches began to be appreciated fully by more than a handful of art historians because most tourists and their guidebooks continued to view the Baroque as "degenerated Renaissance." (Baekeder 1900: lxxiv). As Edith Wharton (1928: 188) remarked of Rome, "for centuries it has been the fashion to look only on a city

which has almost disappeared, and to close the eyes to one which is alive and actual.”

Tourists faced with a mountain of luggage and a plethora of monuments were relieved to find help at hand in the form of John Murray’s Italian *Handbooks*, first published in 1842 and which divided the country into three zones. Of the 13 British tour-guides to Italy published in the 1820s (Buzard 2001: 69–70) only Starke’s popular and much revised guide was approved by the younger John Murray who described it as “a work of real utility” because it contained much practical information gathered on the spot.” Notebook in hand, Murray planned to ease the path of travelers by systematically studying the needs and habits of fellow tourists and ordering and arranging his facts in the most convenient way. On arrival in a place he set out to:

find out what was really worth seeing there, to make a selection of such objects, and to tell how best to see them . . . and not bewildering my readers by describing all that *might* be seen and using the most condensed and singular style in description of special objects. I made it my aim to point out things peculiar to the spot, or which might be seen better elsewhere. (Murray, cited in Smiles 1891: 462)

His labors provided his readers with lists of hotels, shops and small portable maps. Tourists accompanied by Murray could no longer claim like Goethe (1999: 138) that “everything was my own direct responsibility” thereby reinforcing the inclination of some travelers to use the word “tourist” pejoratively as a means of pointing to the social and cultural inferiority of others (Buzard 1993: 96–7). Most tourists however, found that Murray’s *Handbooks* made it easier to plan routes and sightseeing itineraries, organize travel arrangements and, above all, to save time.

The prescriptive and regulative authority that Murray, Baedeker and later guides such as Augustus Hare came to exercise over tourist behavior has often been commented on for their injunctions became key agents in the acculturation process as did their itineraries. In his 1908 novel *A Room with a View*, E. M. Forster, for example, made much of poor Lucy Honeychurch’s discomfort when she found herself in Florence’s Santa Croce without her trusty Baedeker. Guidebook commentaries promoted and reinforced particular ways of seeing people and places. Read in front of the actual buildings, guidebooks appeared as “scripts” controlling what and how they were seen (Figure 3.1). The successive fashions for picturesque, sublime and romantic views left their mark on sightseeing conventions and generated many stereotyped and repetitive observations as tourists dutifully recorded their critical judgments on architecture in the appropriate language, often paying more attention to the view than the buildings themselves. Historical and literary associations allowed greater scope for imaginative response and required less artistic expertise and were actively encouraged by some guidebooks such

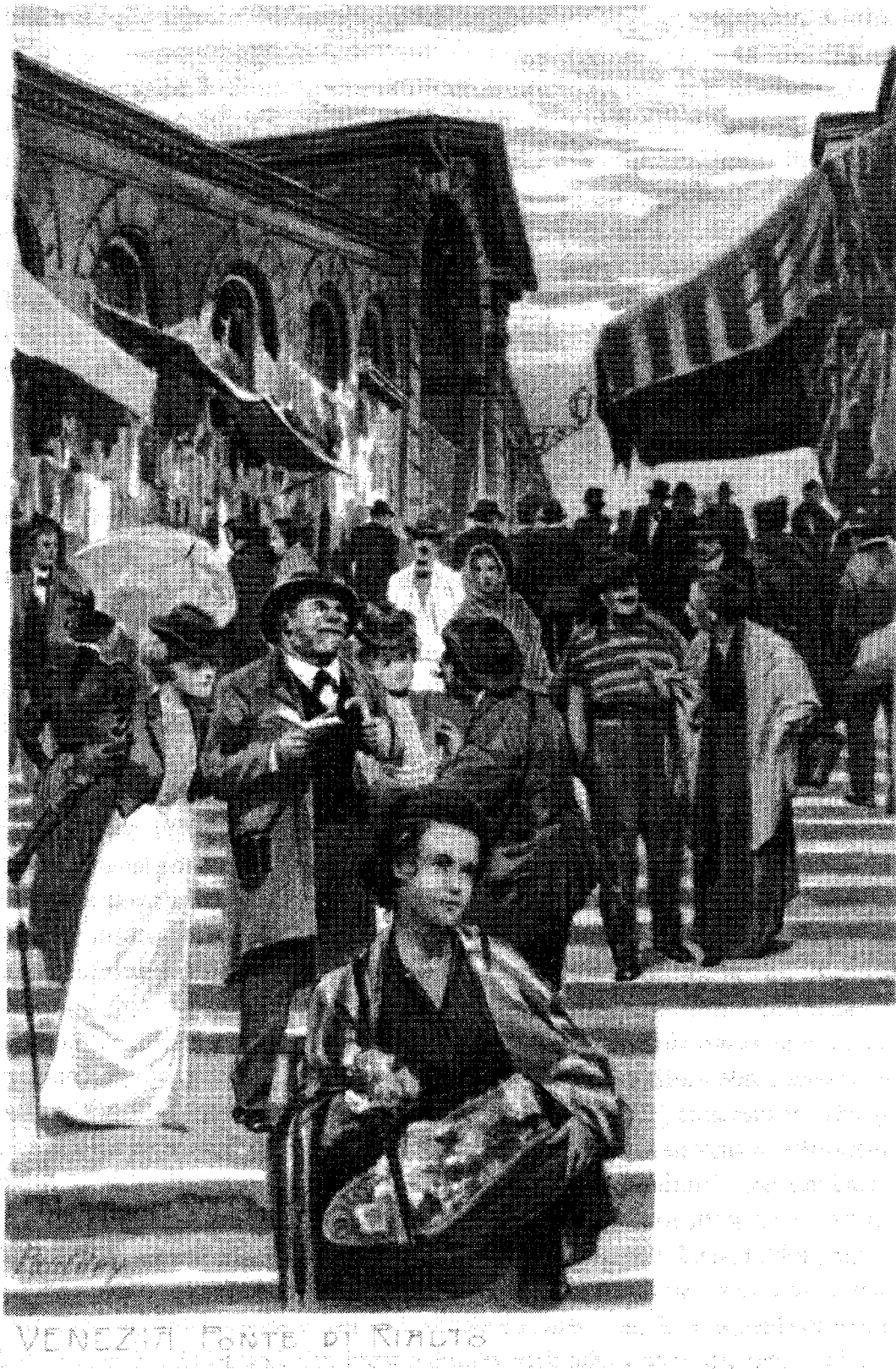


Figure 3.1 Postcard c.1905. Paul Hey "Tourists on the Rialto bridge," published by Otto Zieher, Munich. Collection of the author.

Augustus Hare's *Walks in Rome* (1871) based extensively on quotations from popular authors. Emily Birchall, honeymooning in Italy in 1873, vividly describes her sight of what, thanks to Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome* (1842), was for her a sight "that I longed to see, more perhaps than anything else in Rome," as beneath her she spotted the remains of an old bridge she instinctively knew was the one where "brave Horatius stood alone." Leaning down she saw the basements of the piers:

I look up and across the "broad floods" to the "further shore." I gaze on the yellow river, as tawny then as now, my feet are on the very spot where 'now he feels the bottom', now on dry earth he stands and the grand heroism of twenty four hundred years ago seems clear and real before my eyes. (Birchall 1985: 39)

Birchall belonged to the category of well educated middle-class tourists for whom recreational tourism remained a metaphorical vehicle of social and spiritual improvement and who assiduously followed Murray's (1858: xv) advice "to ascend some tower or eminence" in search of a "commanding view" for, as the author of "Off for the holidays" in the *Cornhill Magazine* announced "Mere rest is not true recreation" (Clayden 1867: 320). As attitudes to leisure became more relaxed, holiday travel began to be accepted as a legitimate means of recuperation from work. Among new tourists traveling abroad were a number of the new urban types mocked by humorists of the period and highly visible to their fellow Britons for, as William Thackeray (1866: 34) commented, "We carry our nation everywhere with us; and we are in our island wherever we go . . . always separated from the people in the midst of who we are." Kept aloof from their hosts by their lack of language skills and suspicious and superior attitudes to foreigners, the British were also acutely aware of social and cultural distinctions. The new tourists were also often isolated from the resident expatriate communities in Florence and Rome by their lack of formal introductions and social difference.

Some of the social types now traveling were represented in Richard Doyle's (1854) popular *The Foreign Tour*, a sketchbook-narrative relating the adventures of new suburban types engaged in a "middle-class tour." It shows them dutifully, if uncomprehendingly, studying architecture in Milan, where they are besieged by beggars and compatriots behave disgracefully in a church and a "snob" is spotted carving his name on the cathedral roof (Figure 3.2). In Verona they are harassed by the Austrians then occupying northern Italy (much to the disgust of the British). In Venice they quote Byron, take refreshment in St. Mark's Square and view the palaces of the Grand Canal from a gondola. Despite the best efforts of Murray and the humorists of the British press to spread awareness of the "tourist code," displays of snobbery, chauvinism and "ungentlemanly behavior" of the kind depicted by Doyle continued to distress "respectable" British tourists who were

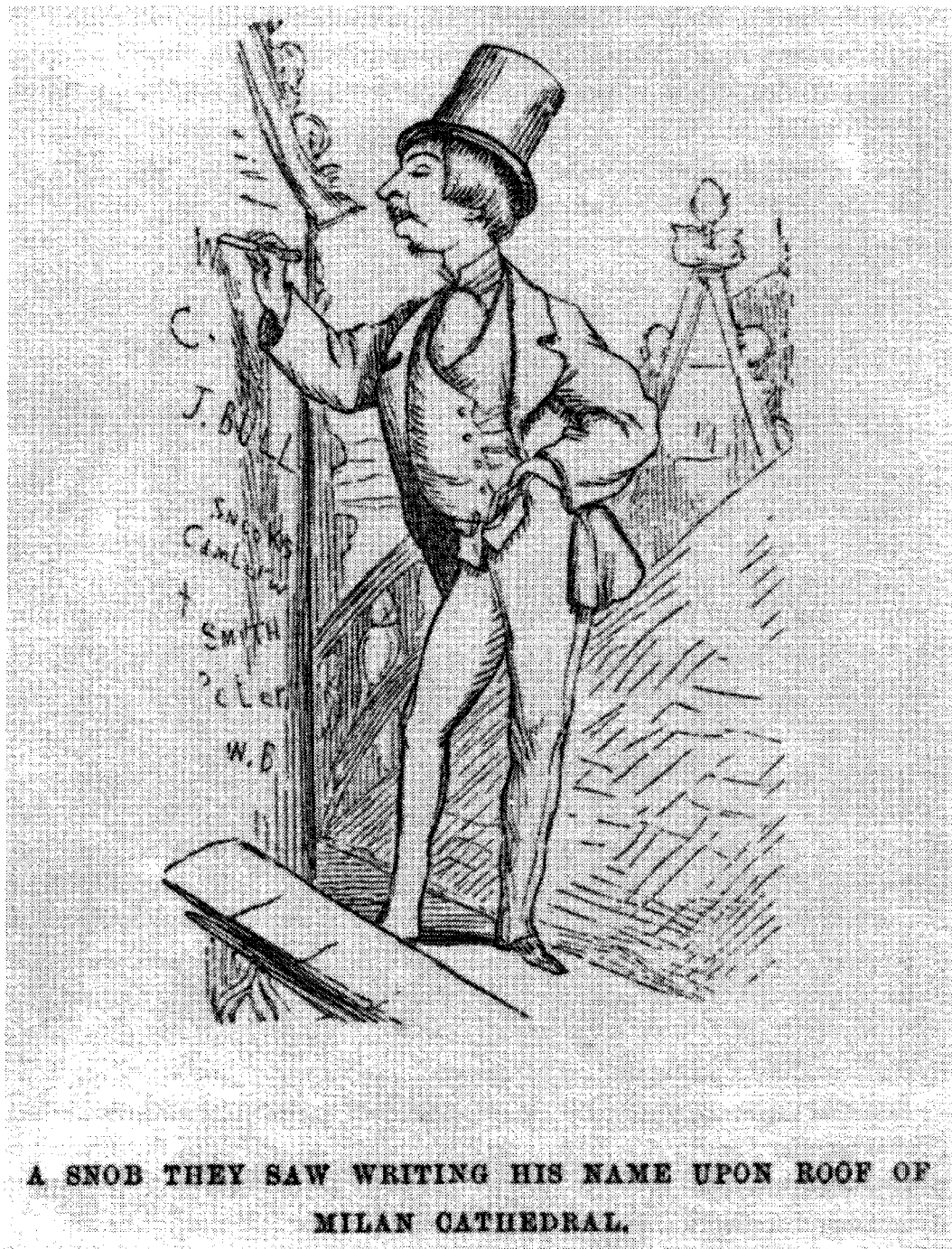


Figure 3.2 “Snob writing his name on the roof of Milan cathedral” (Doyle, 1854: 56). Author’s copy.

extremely sensitive to the bad behavior of others for, as Frances Trollope (1842: 271–2) remarked, it was the few who created an image for the many and “the best of us cannot act as balance weight against the worst.”

Doyle's kind of humour spotlights the self-consciousness liable to afflict inexperienced tourists. His sketches subjected them to the same kind of rhetorical framing and distancing devices as their guidebooks applied to the sights, providing a guide to the informal codes and conventions regulating tourist behavior. Not all treatments were so sympathetic for growing numbers of visitors led to complaints in the British press of the "herds," "flocks" and "droves" to be found in places like Florence. Displays of contempt evinced by the word "tourist" revealed the resentment felt by particular social groups at the invasion of the social and geographical spaces such as the Roman *Corso*, which they regarded as their own. Charles Lever (1865: 230–3) was particularly irritated by Thomas Cook's "excursionists," disparaging their dress, manners and deportment and the presence of females in the party. In a defensive interview Cook pointed out that though socially diverse, his customers for Italy all travelled "as if impressed with the notion that they are engaged in fulfilling the wishes of a lifetime, in a pleasant duty never to be repeated" and are "full of discussion among themselves, proving that they are all thoroughly well up with the subject. Many of them carry books of reference with them, and nearly all take notes" (cited in Wilson 1951: 311–12).

Elizabeth Tuckett recalled an encounter with a party of the infamous "excursionists" at a communal *table d'hôte* in Florence. The daughter of a clergyman, she adopts a superior view, observing that the "oddest thing is that Mr Cook himself cannot speak a word of any language but his own" (Tuckett 1866: 182). Her "letters home" frame the respectability of her own performance, distancing it from that of her fellow tourists, even as she subjects them to the same kind of critical scrutiny she applied to the sights. It was not the mixed social composition of the group or noisy arrival in the middle of the night that aroused her disapproval, but the uncomfortable, compressed and cut-price nature of the trip itself that, by ignoring established connections between season and place, endangered the health of participants. Nor was there sufficient time for the kind of reflective viewing of the city in which Tuckett was herself engaged, using George Eliot's 1862 medieval novel *Romola* as "an idealised Murray; just as the city in its turn is a daily illustration for the book" (Tuckett 1866: 105, 152).

The galleries and museums of Florence, the *Corso* and piazza, provided Tuckett with plentiful opportunities for "people-watching." Like most tourists she was acutely aware of other tourists, particular her own compatriots and she comments primly on the "utterly unprincipled . . . utterly bad" nature of some English people and distinguishes different sets, "fast, literary, fashionable, the high, low church, the sociable, the exclusive and the Americans" who were given to amateur theatricals (Tuckett 1866: 182). Tourists who travelled to keep up with their own social set used the promenades and public places such as theatres and hotel dining rooms as arenas for displays of conspicuous consumption through which they attempted to distinguish themselves from others (Richards 1990), thereby incurring the

disapproval of those like Tuckett who adhered to codes of gentility in which respect for civic position, knowledge and taste were preeminent. At home, nineteenth-century Britons were skilled in detecting the signs of social standing, respectability and individual character in the physiognomy, facial expressions, gestures, style of dress, manners and deportment of their fellows (Cowling 1989). Letters to *Queen* indicate readers worried that unknown foreign territory was likely to generate situations requiring close scrutiny of the manners and behavior of themselves and others. Unfamiliar surroundings could provoke anxiety and acute self-consciousness, “particularly as the know-how of the habitus suddenly ceased to be able to modulate unforeseen events” (Edensor 1998).

Social difficulties of the kind associated with the congested urban spaces of home could be replicated by encounters with strangers in the new stations and the public rooms of hotels, in *trattoria*, tea rooms and cafés, in twisty narrow streets and stairwells and in gloomy old crypts and churches and in situations of enforced sociability such as the *table d’hôte*. Within the tourist community sociability was structured by many of the same codes of civility and the rules of etiquette that prevailed at home such as the calling card system which enabled members of different social and cultural networks, particularly women, to negotiate the shifting boundaries of social life and to protect the exclusivity of their social circles (Curtin 1985). Books of etiquette identified the perils of travel. Hotels were regarded as particularly dangerous places where “you are always exposed to the inspection and to the remarks of strangers” and categorized “according to the polish or coarseness of your manner” and “whispers are always overheard and glances always observed” (Anon. 1879: 26, 37).

The rise in tourist numbers was linked to industrialization and urbanization in Britain, increasing the attraction of environments perceived as untouched by the ugliness of modern life. For Taylor, one of the attractions of Italy was the “absence of smoke, the clear deep sky of deep azure . . . the thin pure atmosphere” (1840–1: 260). However, five years later the shock of seeing gas lamps along the Grand Canal impelled Ruskin to write of “the modern work that has set up its plague spot everywhere – the moment you begin to feel some gas pipe business forces itself upon the eye, until you are thrust into the 19th century” (cited in Quill 2000: 32). By the last quarter of the century unification and modernization were changing many of Italy’s urban centers, especially the new capital of Rome “which is at once the great storehouse of Italy’s monuments, and her modern capital, the center of her stirring life” but where “The full collision of the noisy present with silenced past is experienced” (Sully 1912: 74).

The effect of tourism on the built environment was increasingly apparent in the construction of building types such as stations, grand hotels, pump rooms for the drinking of mineral water, shopping facilities, museums and other places of entertainment. Modernity in the form of electric light, gas works in the Circus

Maximus, factories and tenements on the Campagna (Symons 1907: 56), trams, pavements and traffic impacted on the historic urban landscapes so highly valued by the tourists of the past and, until now, unchanged for decades. Visitors wrapped up in the contemplation of the architectural relics of the past were rudely recalled to the present-day world of the “noisy modern capital, to its hotels, to its photograph shops, and the rest” by the sight of the “personally conducted crowds” (Sully 1912: 82) for whose benefit Renaissance villas and palaces were demolished to make way for ugly new hotels and apartment blocks, and the masses of crumbling Roman masonry once beloved by poets and artists were stripped of vegetation by archeologists in the name of conservation. Reflective tourists like Arthur Symons wondered gloomily whether the Romans had lost their artistic sense. He complained bitterly of the devastation wrought by the building of the monument to Victor Emanuel, of the proposed destruction of part of the Castel San Angelo to make way for more traffic and of “the latest bevy of Cook’s tourists sitting down to dinner on the exact spot where the gardens of Sallust had delighted the Romans for nearly the whole of the Christian era” (Symons 1907: 57).

In the early summer Americans greatly outnumbered the European travelers, among them many Germans, who “if apt to be a little loud in their manners are now probably the most studious and methodical of the new visitors.” They were easily distinguished by their dress from “the English tourist with his rather too easy gait and set of the hat,” and “the tall, straight, black-robed American, who has never mixed his languages and preserves a sublime, self-possession in the midst of a world unrealised” (Sully 1912: 64). Women were increasingly visible among the British tourists for as *Etiquette for Ladies* remarked “the ladies go everywhere now-a-days” (Anon c.1880: 179), possibly with a copy of *Hints to Lady Travellers* in their luggage. It became relatively common to see them in Italy traveling unescorted by male relatives (Cunningham 1990: 290; Pemble 1987: 77), indicating the continuing role that places like Florence played in British life. Here the influence of change was less visible than in Rome, its English *pensions* and teashops appearing as an extension of home, albeit one where, as elsewhere in Italy, greater social and sexual freedoms were possible for those who desired them.

Ordinary tourists were easily identified by their equipment of binoculars, sketchbooks and cameras. At home, sketching was a long-established practice, widely regarded as a valuable adjunct to the journal. Many tourists belonged to sketching circles, which, like essay clubs, were particularly popular in the 1860s and 1870s. For middle- and upper-class women sketching was still an important accomplishment (Bermingham 1993; Cherry 1993: 131–3, 169), licensing “discreet” scrutiny of the environment and its inhabitants. Occasionally the sketches were thought good enough for the author to seek publication. Photography soon provided another way of acquiring mementos, usually in the form of *cartes de visite* as well as views. Particularly important and distinctive were the high quality

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photographic reproductions of architectural subjects emanating from the studios of the Fratelli Alinari (Conti in Zevi 1978: 17–18). Treated as “monuments” separated from their urban context, they were valued by many experts interested in architecture, including Ruskin, and helped to extend appreciation of less well-known buildings. Tourists were able to buy prints from the Alinari shops, together with entire photographic albums and, later on, heavily illustrated guides. Sometimes new work was also commissioned.

In the 1880s Italy drew a new generation of students who longed to see its historic buildings and cultural artifacts for themselves. Canon Barnett organized an educational trip to Florence with the Toynbee Travelers, members of a philanthropic educational settlement in the East End of London, an enterprise now made feasible by improvements in the working hours, salaries and wages of the adult students for whom it catered. Revealing the influence of Ruskin, the publisher J. M. Dent, who was a member of the party, noted that:

I can never make anyone understand what the revelation of this wondrous old world meant to me. Here was a city built before industrialism had destroyed the spirit of beauty, where man lived by something other than money-making, luxury and power. A city of flowers indeed, and a city beautified by men’s handicraft. (Dent 1928: 52)

Dent later included the *Story of Venice* (1905) by his fellow student Thomas Okey in his *Medieval Towns* series, intended as educational guides. The series situated buildings and monuments in their historical context and was a further tribute to the value that the British continued to place on an Italian education.

The writer Vernon Lee, a member of the residential expatriate community in Florence, was among those called upon to lecture to the party. She believed that for true tourists an act of imaginative anticipation preceded the experience of the actual sight. “Honour the tourist; he walks in a halo of romance,” she wrote, unlike those for whom travel was simply an extension of their normal mode of existence in some “metropolitan suburb” or those mysterious “dwellers in obscure pensions; curious beings who migrate without seeing any change of landscape and people but only change of fare” (Lee 1894: 311). Her avowed willingness to be “jostled in alpine valleys and Venetian canals by any number of vociferous tourists, for the sake of the one, schoolmistress, or clerk, or artisan, or curate, who may by this means have reached at last . . . the St Brandan’s Isle of his or her longings” (Lee 1894: 307) was not shared by others. Stung by criticism of the proposed visit, Canon Barnett made every effort to educate his students in the tourist code with “one of his inimitable addresses on unselfishness in travel” with the result that as the party crossed the Alps they “huddled together . . . everybody being too unselfish to look out of the windows in case another’s view should be intercepted” (Barnett 1919: vol. I, 359).

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In the last decades of the century the desire to be different and to be published encouraged would-be authors to find novel ways of traveling. The journalist Hilaire Belloc walked to Rome along the old pilgrimage route while Ruskin's image of the railway traveller as "a living parcel" struck a chord with supporters of the bicycle such as journalist Elizabeth Robins Pennell, who with her husband Joseph, toured Italy's medieval towns on tricycles, reporting on the experience for *Harper's*. The journalist Douglas Sladen, one of the new breed of professional travel writers, wrote of the way that the new Italy:

has golf and fox-hunting beside the tombs of the Appian Way, and a brilliant café at the very foot of the new Capitol while the great military roads of the Peninsula echo all day long with the whirr of the swift Darracq or the mountain-climbing F.I.A.T. For Italy . . . is the happy hunting ground of the Automobilist. (Sladen 1912: 4)

Authors with more literary aspirations were haunted by romantic attitudes to travel but found it increasingly difficult to demonstrate the originality of their performance. Acutely aware of the social meanings of style and place, impressionistic essays of the kind written by Vernon Lee or Arthur Symons exemplified the mode of "the writer as embodied sensorium" (Clifford 1997: 53), a phrase that neatly describes the narrative devices of the telling detail, casual erudition and self-reflexive allusion through which they tried to distinguish themselves from the less perceptive or gifted.

Reading communities, like tourists were differentiated by social class and gender. Popular writing, including the representation of tourist experiences in fictional form continued to be socially prescriptive: different styles of performance were useful for indicating social, cultural and national differences. British stereotypes of Americans abroad were particularly popular as a means of highlighting "correct" English or European behavior, or for making fun of it. Most protagonists of the romantic novels aimed at the rapidly growing numbers of young working women and set abroad continued to be upper class, although some were not. The promotional magazine *Travel*, published by the travel agent Henry Lunn, included a short story by L. T. Meade, a tale of a "lady-like" young woman on a trip to Rome, which gave clear guidance about what to expect on such a trip. Her performance as a tourist led to romance and a job as a travel writer (Meade 1898–99: 571–7). Tales of this kind gave clear guidance as to what to expect and indicated the opening up of a potential market of yet more travelers who would be drawn southwards by Italian sun and culture (Steward 1998).

The rapidity with which communication by postcard ceased to be regarded as "vulgar," and became almost universal practice (Figure 3.3), is a clear example of the way that changing standards interacted with styles of performance. In 1900 the artist G. R. Sims complained that "there is barely room for you to write your



Figure 3.3 Postcard c. 1905 “Moonlight scene of the Forum” (advertising Rome and back for 10 guineas, published by Thomas Cook). Collection of the author.

name . . . they are utterly destructive of style, and give absolutely no play to the emotions” (cited in Carline 1971: 57). Seven years later many shared the relief of the journalist James Douglas:

Many a man in the epistolary age could not face the terrors of the Grand Tour, for he knew that he would be obliged to spend most of his time describing what he saw or ought to have seen . . . he was forced to tear himself from the scenery in order to write laborious descriptions of it to his friends at home. Now he merely buys a picture postcard at each station, scribbles on it a few words in pencil, and posts it. This enhances the pleasures of travel. (Douglas 1907, cited in Staff 1978: 79)

Conclusion

At the outbreak of the First World War the British love affair with Italy was unabated although its nature was very different from that of the 1840s. Changes in modes of travel and attitudes to Italian culture contributed to the mapping out of the complex network of social distinctions and snobberies comprising British society, many of which were exemplified in E. M. Forster’s *Room with a View* (1908). The different styles of tourist performance manifested by the successive

generations passing through the Piazza Vecchio or along the Roman Corso represented the shifting boundaries of British social life as well as changes in the habitus and personal aspirations of individual travelers and the social and cultural networks to which they belonged. As an art of performance, the practices of nineteenth-century cultural tourism as they were viewed by their different audiences, at home and abroad, contributed to the network of social distinctions constituting British social life. They evoked not so much the realities of the geographical spaces through which particular tourists passed, as the social and cultural spaces left behind and to which they returned.

Notes

1. Allen wrote a series of historical guides to Europe's leading cultural centers in which the itineraries were organized according to his own particular theory of historical and cultural evolution (Steward, 2004).
2. Lynch's imageable city (he cites Venice as an example) is one that is "(apparent, legible or visible) . . . it invites the eye and ear to greater attention and participation . . . such a city would be one that could be apprehended over time as pattern of high continuity with many distinctive parts interconnected. The perceptive and familiar observer could absorb new and sensuous impacts without disruption of his basic images image, and each new image would touch on many previous elements" (Lynch 1960: 10).

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Chapter 11

Grant Allen and the Business of Travel

Jill Steward

'Travel, in the younger sort, is part of education; in the older, a part of experience.'
(Francis Bacon, 'Of Travel')¹

A feature of the cultural politics of any period is the relationship in which it stands to the mechanisms of social reproduction and change. For public displays of cultural knowledge, tastes, preferences and patterns of consumption not only reveal something about the social and cultural aspirations and allegiances of individuals, but also provide evidence of their relationship with the prevailing economic and social situation.² In the second half of the nineteenth century the widespread increase in the consumption of cultural goods by the middle and upper classes generated new opportunities for such displays by many of who struggled for survival in the literary market-place. The brutality of that struggle was something of which Grant Allen was only too aware: as he ruefully remarked, 'Brain for brain, in no market can you sell your abilities to such poor advantage. Don't take to literature if you've capital enough in hand to buy a good broom, and energy enough to annex a vacant crossing.'³

The benefits of travel have long been recognised as a form of cultural good, although their exact nature and value have been variously defined according to the context.⁴ Travel has played a role in the process whereby individuals and communities have attempted to establish their own particular social and cultural identities in relation to others. In the eighteenth century the Grand Tour to Italy, for example, was an important rite of passage for young male aristocrats, generating shared and exclusive experiences for the social groups to which they belonged. Justified as a form of cultural education, the Tour enabled them to see for themselves the relics of Europe's classical civilisation and artistic heritage. Through the nineteenth century the social profile of such tourists changed to include both middle-class adherents of 'rational recreation' who believed that acquaintance with high culture would enhance and enrich their lives, and earnest young Americans who embarked on a modern version of the Tour as a means of exploring and establishing their own social and cultural identities.⁵

The growth of tourism to the established art centres of Europe changed both the meaning and value of the cultural knowledge associated with them.⁶ The more popular these centres became, the greater the demand for 'guides' who could

mediate between the art works they contained and the new types of tourists they attracted. Grant Allen regarded travel, and especially cultural tourism, as a serious business, for it had played a seminal role in his own life. However, as this essay argues, his attitudes to the educational value of travel and the acquisition of culture were not just the results of his personal experiences, but were bound up with other concerns, particularly his interest in cultural evolution.

Born in Canada of British ancestors, Allen crossed the Atlantic to finish his studies in Britain where, apart from a few years in Jamaica, he spent the rest of his life. He was therefore well aware of the educational benefits of travel, as well as the social and cultural ambiguities and displacements attaching to the experience of migration, exile and cultural difference. Accordingly, his sharp observations and reflections on fellow North Americans and adopted compatriots were informed by a sensitivity to the socially and historically determined differences in their cultures, while his years in Jamaica heightened his appreciation of the cultural charms of Europe.

Allen's writings on travel included both straightforward travelogues and essays which were vehicles for exploring some of his pet ideas. More substantive were the detailed Historical Guides to the major cultural centres of Europe, still incomplete at his death, and their accompanying handbook *The European Tour* (1899) which was written specifically for overseas visitors.⁷ The Historical Guides were not just commercially orientated 'hack jobs',⁸ but were important to Allen in that they gave him an opportunity to introduce a potentially wide audience to the study of art, a subject in which he had developed a passionate interest, and thereby, to pass on a form of cultural knowledge that he regarded as personally and socially valuable but not easily attainable within the confines of the formal education system. Moreover, the project enabled him to address one of his favourite themes – the historical evolution of culture.

The European Tour: A Handbook for Americans and Colonists appeared in 1899, the year in which the American sociologist Thorstein Veblen, published his *Theory of the Leisure Class* in which he discussed the social uses of cultural consumption among the monied elites of North America, as they struggled to acquire and maintain social advantage. These developments were evident in the coverage of travel in the contemporary periodical and weekly press which provided readers with an abundance of amusing, impressionistic material to which they could easily relate. Such coverage, in effect, mediated between the travel industry and its potential customers by disseminating information about particular destinations and who and what might be seen at them. However, the growing familiarity of readers with more popular venues made it harder for writers to catch their attention without deliberately seeking out places that were exotically different or 'off the beaten track'.

Travel provided Allen with invaluable material that could be recycled in a number of ways.⁹ Allen was relatively unconcerned by the need to distinguish himself from the 'ordinary tourist', unlike many of his fellow writers who frequently held them in

contempt.¹⁰ Allen's most exotic experiences belonged to his time in the Caribbean and his knowledge of other parts of the world, apart from Europe and North America, was based on the experiences of others, particularly the scientific and ethnographic works that informed his writings. Allen undertook trips to the Great Lakes and the White Mountains of New Hampshire, to Egypt and the North African coast, but these were of a relatively sedate, if fashionable, nature since neither Allen's personal tastes nor his health inclined him to the kind of exertions frequently regarded as the mark of the true 'traveller'. His trip to Egypt was marred by anxiety about his wife's health, and (in Edward Clodd's words) by the 'repulsive sides of Eastern life – the dirt, the squalor, and the mendicancy'. However it did at least yield 'a store of material confirming him in the ghost-theory of the origin of religion'.¹¹

Early struggles had left Allen 'broken in health and spirit, with all the vitality and vivacity crushed out of me',¹² necessitating the need for regular sojourns in the warm winter climate of the Cap d'Antibes where financial necessity and boredom generated a number of articles that relied for their effect on the author's observant eye and the liveliness of his opinions. Allen's style was particularly well-suited to the cultural and social ambiguities of magazines like the *Belgravia*, a publication which offered socially aspiring readers 'the illusion of entering the world of high fashion' while simultaneously appealing to a more knowing, sophisticated 'reading community'.¹³ The sharpness of his opinions fitted in well with the magazine's role as 'an arena for cultural debate' and as a critic of 'manners and mores'.¹⁴ Similarly his later pieces for Newnes' London evening paper, the *Westminster Gazette*, was an example of the kind of writing, often associated with the modernising features of the New Journalism, that helped to give the paper its individuality.¹⁵ His essay 'On the Casino Terrace' (1894), for example, mixed reportage with sharp cultural critique in an explicit expression of his own socialist views. Thus Allen linked the scene before him, at Monte Carlo, with the 'profound disease' at the heart of modern life as he revealed the connection between losses at the tables and London 'ground-rents'. This 'gambling-hell' is sustained by

the vices of our organisation [which] begot these over-rich folk begot their diamond-decked women, and their clipped French poodles with gold bangles spanning their aristocratic legs. These are the spawn of land-owning, of capitalism, of military domination, of High Finance, of all the social ills that flesh is heir to.¹⁶

In addition, many of Allen's travelogues have a strong visual quality that stemmed from his interest in the aesthetics of colour and the vagaries of topography. In 'Why not Antibes?', a letter published in the *Pall Mall Budget*, for 1891, 'he described its attractions to such effect that two readers, Alice and George Bird, were sufficiently enthused to follow his advice and winter on the Riviera, where they became friends of the writer'.¹⁷ Like other travel writers and popular novelists Allen was very much aware of the rhetorical power of visual signifiers to evoke a sense of place. He notes the hold that visual stereotypes exercise over the popular imagination.¹⁸ So,

for example, writing on the evocative power of the date-palm, he commented, 'Whatever else the picture may contain, it cannot afford to do without the date-palm. That is the painter's way of saying, "Observe; there's no deception: this is the genuine Eastern article."' ¹⁹

It was the iconic status of the palm tree that was partly responsible for Allen's exposure of the 'great tropical fallacy' occasioned by his arrival in Jamaica. As his ship steamed up 'the sultry, breathless bay', a glimpse of a palm tree filled him with eager anticipation of all the attractions popularly associated with the tropics, 'brightly coloured flowers, singing birds, sunsets'. But he was only to be cruelly disappointed as his gaze confronted ramshackle streets, 'endless clouds of dust, broken-down omnibuses and a chattering population of ragged Negroes', all made 'ten times more evident through the blinking, starving sunlight that falls in full force on every squalid detail'. Allen concluded 'I have travelled in Spain, and I thought I understood dirt, but believe me, I only knew as yet the first rudiments of that extensive subject.' ²⁰ The sense of exile was compounded by the all-pervasive mosquitoes, 'heat, Negroes and atrocious cookery': attempts at gastronomy, Allen lamented, entailed organisation of military precision. ²¹

As with Jamaica, Allen's experience of Egypt and North Africa also generated settings and local colour for his popular fiction and fed into his views on human evolution, racial difference and imperialism. In Algiers, which had become a fashionable alternative to the 'cockneyfied' winter resorts of the Riviera, Allen was fascinated by the contrast between 'two distinct types of civilisation' it represented. The progressive civilisation of modern France was manifested in the infrastructure of railways, roads and urban planning, while that of the Orient was represented by the features that nineteenth-century artists found so attractive and picturesque: the Moorish architecture, particularly the mosques and bazaars and the spectacle created by the colourful ethnic mix of 'Arabs and Moors, Kabyles and negroes, one endless raree-show of African costumes and population and veiled women'. ²² Allen's pleasure in such visual delights was tempered by his personal aversion to a rather more traditional signifier of oriental backwardness. While Allen notes their poverty and abject state, 'more squalid by far than the Easterns of our fancy', 'we imagined them dirty, perhaps, but not nearly so ragged, sordid, and miserable', ²³ 'even so, these dirty and ill-dressed but stately orientals, sitting unmoved on their sturdy small donkeys, and puffing their cigarettes, or lying about unconcernedly on the dusty roadside ... We never tire of watching them as we drive along the road.' ²⁴

An aspect of travel that fascinated Allen was the subject of itineraries, a theme that was central to his conception of the guidebook project. He was reported to remark that the best reading in the world was the 'Continental Bradshaw'; on long journeys south he sat for long spells 'entirely captivated by the problems he found in its pages'. ²⁵ Itineraries played an important role in *Miss Cayley's Adventures* (1899), published in the same year as *The European Tour*, a sustained reflection on the subject. Lois Cayley, self-proclaimed adventuress of 'no means at all', embarks on a round-the-world trip, a practice increasingly popular with young members of the

British governing classes preparing for their future as servants of the empire. The route proposed – down the Rhine, along the Danube, through Egypt to India, and thence to Canada – would have taken her through the territories of what was once the Frankish empire, across the decaying Habsburg and Ottoman territories and across lands under the aegis of the British empire.

Allen's interest in travel was bound up with one of his main concerns, the subject of human evolution. He combined the two in a series of Historical Guides to the major centres of European art, described by Clodd as a 'labour of love, and a warrant for holidays abroad'.²⁶ The Historical Guides allowed him to capitalise on the knowledge and experience acquired over thirty-five years of travel, giving 'the reader in a very compendious form the result of all those inquiries which have naturally suggested themselves to my own mind ... the solution of which has cost myself a good deal of research, thought and labour, beyond the facts I could find in the ordinary handbooks'.²⁷

The guidebook industry of the *fin de siècle* was a supply-side phenomenon,²⁸ catering for an increasingly diversified and expanding market which embraced a variety of social, professional and interest groups, including both highly educated and sophisticated travellers and the less well-educated for whom the experience of travel was still relatively new.²⁹ Volumes published by Murray, Baedeker or Joanne continued to appeal to travellers who wanted a guidebook that would help them to make the most efficient use of their time; Americans 'doing Europe' were also catered for by other publications containing information intended to ease their path.

However, Allen clearly thought that he and his publisher, his nephew Grant Richards, had identified a gap in the market when he claimed that his 'object and plan' differentiated the Historical Guides from those 'at present before the public'.³⁰ This was true in that they were focused not on 'practical information about hotels, cab fares, omnibuses, tramways, and other everyday material conveniences', but on the historic, artistic and cultural monuments of a specific place.³¹ But what really distinguished the Historical Guides was the exclusion of advertisements, maps and (in the author's lifetime) illustrations and references to 'modern constructions', such as the Eiffel Tower and 'vulgar wonders' like 'the waxworks of the Musée Grévin' or the 'Excursion in the Paris sewers'. The 'passing life of the moment', as Allen put it, 'does not enter into my plan'.³² Nor did Allen include any practical information for his readers. 'The detail of life requires no cicerone',³³ he remarked elsewhere.

Instead, the Historical Guides offered their readers a serious educational experience. According to George Williamson, who completed Allen's *Cities of Northern Italy* (1901) after his death, the tourist would be led along a carefully considered path, directed to 'what he should *certainly* see in a town, to what concerns the history of a town'; he would be told 'why he should see it, and what he should learn from it'.³⁴ With his breezily didactic mode of address Allen had perfected the 'art of button-holing until it became a science'.³⁵ Keywords and notes were in bold print and essential viewing was starred.

Allen's early work on hedonistic aesthetics had been heavily indebted to Herbert Spencer so it was unsurprising that the Historical Guides were structured by educational principles similar to those laid out in Spencer's influential *Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical* (1861). Spencer believed that the 'basis of education' lay in the encouragement of personal observation, for 'without an accurate acquaintance with the visible and tangible properties of things, our conceptions must be erroneous, our inferences fallacious, and our operations unsuccessful.'³⁶ However, he was highly critical of the way that advocates of the principles of experiential education tended to apply them, regarding their practices not just as off-putting, but as detrimental to the recipients. Instead, he advocated methods that encouraged independent thinking or 'self-evolution'.³⁷ Moreover, he firmly believed that effective learning must also be pleasurable and should therefore be treated as an extension of the child's sensory development and stimulated naturally through play.³⁸

This was a view with which Allen enthusiastically concurred: 'the best learning of all is that we acquire without ever knowing it ... going about the world, to amuse ourselves, with our eyes open, – that is the way to preserve and enlarge it. For everything depends upon the enjoyment we receive. Nothing makes impressions so vivid ... as pleasure.'³⁹ Spencer's examination of scientific culture emphasised the importance of verifying conclusions derived from empirically-based data through 'observation and experiment',⁴⁰ but in practice he did not always apply these principles to his own theories. Canon Barnett, who was himself a firm believer in the educational benefits of travel, reported with some irritation that, when on a sightseeing tour to Egypt, Spencer was much vexed by the interest shown by fellow members of his party in tombs and temples. He stood, waiting impatiently, having announced that 'when anyone has seen the class of things it was quite as efficacious, less fatiguing, and more convenient to study the facts from books and pictures.'⁴¹ Mrs Barnett attributed Spencer's irritability partly to his dyspepsia and his inability to 'make the facts around him harmonise with his theories on Egypt'.⁴²

Allen took rather a different view of sightseeing: 'It is *from things*, not from words that one may learn most of what is truly useful'.⁴³ 'Now, *Travel* holds the same position with regard to mankind, its history, its industry, its arts ... its organisation, as laboratory work holds to chemistry, field work to geology, and dissection to biology.'⁴⁴ He regarded Europe and its historic towns as museums of their own history. To see them for oneself made history seem 'real'.⁴⁵ Books are, at best, 'guides to knowledge, not knowledge itself. They show you where to look, that you may see and understand; they are finger-posts which point you the road to the museum, not the actual museum and all its contents'.⁴⁶ The function of the Guides was to make museums accessible to anyone who wished to take a serious interest in their contents, putting the intelligent reader in such a position that 'he may judge for himself of the aesthetic beauty and success of the object before him'.⁴⁷

A brief demonstration of this educational philosophy appeared in his story 'Melissa's Tour' (1891), a tale of an earnest young American woman who saves

up her earnings for a package trip to Europe where she meets a snobbish but ill-educated middle-class English family and succeeds in inspiring the sporty son with the notion that high culture can be pleasurable.⁴⁸ The fictional Melissa takes on the role that Spencer accorded to the intelligent mother who aids her child's self-evolution (although at a higher educational level) by encouraging it to make its own investigations of the particular from which it could then make its own inferences about the typical and general: 'Children should be led to make their own investigations, and to draw their own inferences. They should be *told* as little as possible and induced to *discover* as much as possible.'⁴⁹

As practised in the Guides this meant applying the principles of the scientific 'object lesson' to the material remains of the past by identifying key features of the urban landscape and laying 'stress upon the origin and meaning of each structure as an organic whole, and upon the allusions or symbols which its fabric embodies'.⁵⁰ Allen's immediate goal was to explain how art had evolved within a particular city through a study of its key artistic monuments and to indicate how they were related to the development of European art as a whole.

Readers were encouraged to move from seeing a work as an individual object of local interest to viewing it as an exemplar of a particular class of thing by comparing it with others, on the grounds that the act of comparison would enable them to acquire a conception of the typical. Returning again to the original, instead of seeing it in isolation, they would be better placed to appreciate the work as a special product of its time and place and to understand and criticise it. This approach was not so dissimilar from methods practised by many art historians of the period such as Anna Jameson,⁵¹ based not upon connoisseurship – a subject in which Allen disclaimed any expertise – but on the study of iconography, the systematic identification and comparison of subject matter or motifs and the study of their history and meaning. Allen was clearly attracted to this way of looking at the history of art, not so much out of a wish to engage with contemporary debates on art-historical method, but because of its empirical and inductivist nature, and because the subject matter lent itself to the application of evolutionary theories and models.⁵²

Explanations were mostly of an historical nature, concerned with 'archaeological matters'.⁵³ 'My object throughout', he said, 'is to display the connection between architecture, painting, and sculpture on the one hand, and history on the other.'⁵⁴ As Allen reminded his readers the fabric of Continental churches and cathedrals was intimately bound up with the histories of the local saints commemorated in their iconography as well as that of their founders and patrons.⁵⁵ Rather than viewing monuments as the product of an architect, Allen saw them 'rather as material embodiments of the spirit of the age – crystallizations, as it were, in stone and bronze, in form and colour, of great popular enthusiasms'.⁵⁶

Allen's own enthusiasm for his task was such that he often failed to observe his mentor's precept that 'To *tell* a child this and to *show* it the other, is not to teach it how to observe, but to make it the mere recipient of another's observations.'⁵⁷ This was most obvious in *The European Tour* which contains a lengthy discussion of

those itineraries most likely to 'unfold Europe' to the American novice 'in a comprehensible, enjoyable, enlightening fashion'. Allen regarded the European tour as a serious alternative to a conventional college education based on ancient languages, useless information and rote learning.⁵⁸ Having studied classics himself, he declared 'all that was most valuable in my education began *after* I left the University.'⁵⁹ An emphasis on classical languages was natural enough when 'most knowledge had still to be dug out of *books*, and when books were mainly written in the dead languages ... It is absurd at the present day, when knowledge is chiefly to be gained by contact with *things* ...'.⁶⁰ In any case, time devoted to the values of high culture was of more lasting value than material wealth. Allen's American tourists were left in little doubt about his priorities: 'it is the spiritual importance of the European tour that especially appeals to me.'⁶¹

Indeed Allen regarded the average American male as sorely in need of the benefits of an aesthetic and cultural education. In one of his *Westminster Gazette* pieces of 1893, 'American Duchesses', he noted that one of the problems facing wealthy American women was the low cultural level of their menfolk. Unlike their wives and sisters who were the 'only leisured class in America' and its natural aristocracy, these unfortunates were unable to dedicate their leisure to the cultivation of the arts, since their education was often cut short by their entry into commerce; consequently they stood 'a step or two lower in scale of humanity', their horizon 'bounded by the rim of the dollar'.⁶² As a result their womenfolk preferred the more culturally advanced European males who reciprocated their interest.

A standard criticism of the majority of guidebooks on the market was the superficiality of the experiences they engendered. The art historian Giovanni Morelli wryly observed that they are

written for the great body of tourists who have of desire to be overdone with sight-seeing. Travelling in these days is regarded more as a duty than as a pleasure. The modern tourist's first object is to arrive at a certain point; once there he disposes of the allotted sights as soon as possible, and hurries on resignedly to fresh fields, where the same programme is repeated.⁶³

This unsatisfactory experience was exacerbated by the effects of modernisation and the expansion of commercial tourism that made Europe itself seem increasingly 'standardised – brought to one dull conventional pattern ... We just see what we see at home.'⁶⁴

Superficiality, repetition and modernity were exactly what Allen wished to avoid. A repeated theme in his discussions of human evolution was the stimulating effect on intelligence of the experience of difference. The effects of travel were therefore particularly beneficial for young Americans, many of whom came from 'an educational system unequalled for its relative uniformity and homogeneity over a vast area'. A European tour would 'give them the wholesome mental shock of a complete reversal of many preconceived opinions' as well as familiarising them 'with the origins of their own world and their own institutions'.⁶⁵ By focusing on the

material legacy of the European past in the form of its historic towns and artistic monuments, Allen wanted to make Americans aware of the historical antecedents out of which their own society and institutions had evolved: 'If you want to know the origin of American institutions, American law, American thought, and American language, you must go to England; you must go farther still to France, Italy, Hellas, and the Orient. Our whole life is bound up with Greece and Rome, with Egypt and Assyria.'⁶⁶

The unifying theme of both the Historical Guides and *The European Tour* was Allen's theory of the relationship between human evolution and the development of artistic cultures which he had already explored in a number of earlier essays such as 'Carving a Cocoa-Nut' (1877) and 'Hellas and Civilisation' (1878).⁶⁷ Consistent with his materialist position on all aspects of the evolutionary process, Allen sought to demonstrate the effects of physical or geographical conditions on communication between distinct communities, a factor he regarded as important in the generation of intelligence. In another essay, 'The Growth of Sculpture' (1880), he pointed to a correlation between the evolution of particular forms and the nature of the materials to hand.⁶⁸ Allen's reflections on the correlation between the vagaries of topography and the production of monuments were developed in an essay on obelisks.⁶⁹ Elsewhere he argued that the intellect, commerce, art, culture and general temperament of a society ultimately depended not on the triumph of 'any mysterious properties of race, nationality over other unknown and intangible abstractions' or 'the physical circumstances to which they were exposed',⁷⁰ as he demonstrated of the Tuscan 'hill-top strong-hold', Fiesole.⁷¹ In 'A Persistent Nationality' (1889), he emphasised the openness and receptivity to other cultures as a factor in the cultural evolution and artistic success of the Etruscans who 'at the moment they first appear in history ... appear as a race capable of acquiring and assimilating culture with great ease, rapidity and certainty'.⁷²

The general principles which the tourist should follow were clearly laid out in the first chapter of *The European Tour*. Adopting Spencer's precept that 'the genesis of knowledge in the individual must follow the same course as the genesis of the knowledge in the race',⁷³ Allen suggested that the itinerary should begin with towns and cities associated with the medieval and then move forward chronologically to take in those mostly closely associated with later developments. Using the Historical Guides the tourist should focus on the monuments and artworks which represented the key features of the particular artistic cultures identified with each major development. However, since many Americans visited Britain first:

You will find it best in practice to begin with what is nearest to you and to your own civilisation – France and England; then go back to the Low Countries; and from the Low Countries proceed to the Rhineland and so Romewards. Each country, as you come to it, teaches you something, and on the whole your progress is backward, from the known to the unknown ... Each step back helps to explain the steps you have already examined ... You thus get in the end a more connected picture.⁷⁴

The direct cultural and familial ties between Britain and America meant that many Americans were inclined to linger, but Allen urged them on since most of Britain was too modern or 'familiar' to be of interest. This was particularly true of London where the Great Fire of 1666 had left insufficient features of historical or antiquarian interest to delay the tourist for long.⁷⁵ In any case Allen was no great admirer of the metropolis which he had openly castigated as a 'squalid village'.⁷⁶ A visit to the British Museum revealed that 'dinginess and stinginess are everywhere conspicuous' since 'the British people and the British government, who, rich as they are, have always grudged money for literary, scientific, or artistic purposes.'⁷⁷ Even the National Gallery contained 'few pictures of the first rank by painters of the first order'; its collections had mostly originated elsewhere and were therefore best appreciated by students who already had some knowledge of the subject. Nor did Allen encourage acquaintance with other aspects of London life, such as the social season. He noted, darkly, that the penalty for women who dreamt of marrying a title might well be 'probable neglect or possible cruelty'.⁷⁸

Romantic references and literary quotations typical of many popular guidebooks were eschewed as conducive only to the kind of sightseeing that misses 'the substance in grasping at the shadow'.⁷⁹ Noting that sentimentality 'does not teach you anything', Allen's understanding of his audience's frame of reference led him to tempt it further afield with descriptions of the 'Caledonian route' through the 'Land of Scott' and 'the Lady of the Lake', via Charlotte Bronte country. Yet mindful of the expectations of his readers and the pedagogical principle of moving from the familiar to the unfamiliar, Allen allowed them a brief glimpse of the rural England of Shakespeare and the Pilgrim fathers, 'at once most unlike and most near America'.⁸⁰ Without betraying his sympathy for the principles of the American economist and land-reformer Henry George, he explained that it was 'the aristocratic life' of the countryside and the 'wealth of its landed families' that had created and sustained a 'rustic beauty hardly dreamed of elsewhere'. Fields, farms and parks, 'close-cropped lawns', 'garden-like meadows', 'Elizabethan manor-houses', the 'sweet air of ancient peace' and 'clinging mantle of ivy' along with the medieval ruins and damp climate – all exemplify for Allen, as for many later literary tourists, an essential Englishness.⁸¹

The genuine legacy of the past was not to be found in Shakespearean relics but in the views from the field path between Leamington and Kenilworth, the Oxford colleges and a rowing-trip on the Thames, an 'ancient river-valley civilisation', liberally strewn with abbeys, convents and castles. Other monuments to the evolution of British culture included the public schools, the principal medieval cathedral cities and certain watering places, excluding Bath, but including Lyme Regis – 'almost unaltered since days of Miss Austen's novels'.⁸²

The Continent had rather more to offer, being infinitely older and of 'deeper developmental and evolutionary value' as well as being 'vastly more entertaining'.⁸³ 'You can't go out [in Paris]', he wrote, 'without 'stumbling ... against ... the world, the flesh and the devil in general and you will find no need for a formal

introduction.⁸⁴ Apart from the French capital which Allen declared '*first*, very much first; and the provinces nowhere',⁸⁵ other leading cities fared as badly as London: 'Modern arrangements have made Brussels the capital of a mushroom monarchy.'⁸⁶ Berlin was inhabited by 'a mixed race nearly half of whom are more Slav than Teuton. It has ... little of antiquity, belonging to its own spot, truly local and native.'⁸⁷ Unsurprisingly, given the conventional nature of Allen's attitude towards art, he regarded the Italian Renaissance as the basis of all later developments. The ultimate destination of the student of art must be Italy '*the key* by which you may unlock the secret of Europe'.⁸⁸

Allen's views on cultural education and the significance of Italy had already been signalled in his most famous novel, *The Woman Who Did* (1895). Herminia Barton, who has run off to Italy with Alan Merrick, her artist lover, is introduced to the artistic pleasures of Florence under his masterful tuition. Merrick points to the 'peculiar merits' of his favourite paintings, showing her 'the subtle relation in which they stood to the pictures that went before them and the pictures that came after them, as well as to the other work of the same master or his contemporaries'.⁸⁹ Florence is one of Allen's 'cities of the soul' and exactly 'the place for a beginner to find out what Italian art was aiming at. You got it there in its full logical development – every phase, step by step, in organic unity; while elsewhere you saw but stages and jumps and results, interrupted here and there by disturbing lacunae.'⁹⁰ However, unlike the 'grand exceptions', Florence and Venice, and 'in a lesser degree, Bruges, Munich, Pisa', most 'famous towns ... need to be twice seen: the first time briefly to face the inevitable disappointment to our expectations; the second time, at leisure, to reconstruct and appraise the surviving reality. Imagination so easily beggars performance.'⁹¹

Unlike the Celtic Merrick, 'thoroughly Italianate himself, and with a deep love for the picturesque, which often makes men insensible to dirt and discomfort', Herminia belongs to 'the intellectual and somewhat inartistic English type. The picturesque alone did not suffice for her. Cleanliness and fresh air were far dearer to her soul than the quaintest street corners, the oddest old archways; she pined in Perugia for a green English hill-side.'⁹² Moreover, her one-sided scientific education has left her totally unprepared for the compressed nature of the acculturation process to which she is subjected and with which she is quite unable to deal.

The incorporation of Allen's ideas on travel in *The Woman Who Did* is a good example of the way that he constantly recycled his material from one project and one context to another. More importantly, it reveals the centrality of his ideas on art, travel and education to his general philosophy of social progress. For Allen, meditative travel and the cultural knowledge associated with it, had played an important role in his own life, both as a source of personal satisfaction and development and as an economically valuable resource. Allen believed that the experience of geographical, social and cultural difference had been a positive factor in the evolution of the world's more highly developed communities and nations. The Historical Guides gave him an opportunity to pass on the fruits of his own

experience and to encourage individuals along a path which he perceived as beneficial. Indeed, Allen clearly held the view that the developmental future of individuals and that of the national communities to which they belonged were inextricably linked. Their tour completed, Allen's final injunction to his young American readers was 'Go home, then, quietly, and *ruminate*. Let what you have seen sink in and change you'.⁹³

Notes

- 1 In Francis Bacon, *Essays*, [With annotations by Richard Whateley] (London: John W. Porter, 1855), pp.173-7 (p.173).
- 2 Particularly relevant here is Pierre Bourdieu's comment that the 'eye is a product of history reproduced by education'. See Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London: Routledge, 1986), p.3.
- 3 Grant Allen, 'My First Book', *Idler* (2 September 1892): 155-61 (p.163).
- 4 James Duncan and Derek Gregory point to the location of cultural practices associated with travel within 'larger formations in which the inscriptions of power and privilege are made clearly visible'. See James Duncan and Derek Gregory (eds), *Writes of Passage, Reading Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp.2-3. See also Steve Clarke (ed.), *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit* (London: Zed, 1999).
- 5 William Stowe, *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp.3-15, pp.29-55.
- 6 John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: BBC and Penguin, 1987) also draws attention to the effects of the effects of the new reproducibility of images and the means of their dissemination, pp.18-34.
- 7 Grant Allen, *Paris* (London: Grant Richards, 1897); *Florence* (London: Grant Richards, 1897); *Cities of Belgium* (London: Grant Richards, 1897); *Venice* (London: Grant Richards, 1898); *The European Tour* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1899), and *Cities of Northern Italy* [First published under the name of his co-author, George C. Williamson] (London: Grant Richards, 1901). Further titles, including, *Rome*, *Munich*, *Dresden* and *Cities of Northern France* were listed but never issued. See *The European Tour*, p.147.
- 8 Barbara Melchiori, *Grant Allen: The Downward Path Which Leads to Fiction* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2000), p.67.
- 9 For example, Melchiori, *Grant Allen*, pp.67-8.
- 10 On anti-tourism see James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature and Ways to Culture 1800-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp.80-153.
- 11 According to Edward Clodd in *Grant Allen, A Memoir* (London: Grant Richards, 1900), pp.139-40, Allen's interest was primarily in the religious significance of the monuments. See Grant Allen, 'The Gods of Egypt', *Universal Review*, 8 (August 1890): 51-65.
- 12 Allen, 'My First Book', p.163.
- 13 On the concept of 'reading communities' see Kate Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain 1880-1910: Culture and Profit* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p.30, pp.272-4.

- 14 Barbara Onslow, 'Sensationalising Science: Braddon's Marketing of Science in *Belgravia*', *Victorian Publications Review*, 35:2 (2002): 160-77 (pp.61-2).
- 15 Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism*, p.138.
- 16 Grant Allen, 'On the Casino Terrace', in *Post-Prandial Philosophy* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1894), 138-46 (pp.144-6). See also Grant Allen, 'The Wrongfulness of Riches' in Andrew Reid (ed.), *Vox Clamantium: The Gospel of the People* (London: A.D. Innes, 1894), pp.138-61 (p.148).
- 17 Cited in Clodd, *Grant Allen*, pp.106-110.
- 18 See also Melchiori, *Grant Allen*, pp.191-2.
- 19 Grant Allen, 'Of Dates', *Cornhill Magazine*, 10 (May 1888): 520-32 (p.532).
- 20 J. Arbuthnot Wilson, 'The Great Tropical Fallacy', *Belgravia*, 35 (June 1878): 413-25 (pp.416-7).
- 21 Grant Allen, 'The Epicure in Jamaica', *Belgravia*, 44 (May 1881): 285-99 (pp.298-9).
- 22 Grant Allen, 'In the Dark Continent', *Cornhill Magazine*, 10 (April 1888): 362-74 (pp.367-8).
- 23 Allen, 'In the Dark Continent', 368-70, 368.
- 24 'In the Dark Continent', 368.
- 25 Alice Bird on Allen, cited in Clodd, *Grant Allen*, p.109.
- 26 Clodd, *Grant Allen*, p.182, p.149.
- 27 Allen, *Cities of Belgium*, p.5. Much of this material was originally published in a series of essays on art in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *English Illustrated Magazine*, reworked in the guides and recycled in the posthumously published *Evolution in Italian Art* (London: Grant Richards, 1907).
- 28 See Rudy Koshar, "'What ought to be seen": Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 33:1 (1998): 323-40 (p.326).
- 29 Jill Steward, 'The Adventures of Miss Brown, Miss Jones and Miss Robinson: Tourist Writing and Tourist Performance from 1866-1914', *Journeys: International Journal of Travel and Travel Writing*, 1/2 (2000): 36-59 (pp.52-3).
- 30 Allen, *Cities of Belgium*, p.2. Despite the 'warm welcome elicited by the books and their concerns' and 'considerable fan mail', hopes of making the family fortunes were sabotaged by what Allen's nephew described as the 'lending habit'. Grant Richards noted 'the average unintelligent person always borrows a guidebook when he can.' See Grant Richards, *Author Hunting By an Old Literary Sportsman: Memories of Years Spent Mainly in Publishing, 1897-1925* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1934), pp.39-40.
- 31 Allen, *Cities of Belgium*, p.5.
- 32 *Cities of Belgium*, p.8.
- 33 Allen, *The European Tour*, p.294.
- 34 George C. Williamson, *Cities of Northern Italy* (1901; 2nd rev. ed. London: Grant Richards (1908), p.10.
- 35 Williamson, *Cities of Northern Italy*, p.10.
- 36 Herbert Spencer, *Education: Intellectual, Moral and Physical* (1861; London: Watts, 1929), p.58. Spencer, *Education*, pp.79, 93.
- 37 *Education*, pp.59-61.
- 38 Herbert Spencer, 'On Progress' in *Essays: On Education*, (1857; London: J.M. Dent 1949, pp.167-9).
- 39 Allen, *The European Tour*, p.2.
- 40 Spencer, *Education*, pp.36-7.

- 41 Cited in Henrietta Barnett, *Canon Barnett, His Life, Work and Friends* (London, John Murray, 1918), p.232.
- 42 Barnett, *Canon Barnett*, p.232. Mrs Barnett also noted that 'there's nothing like personal contact with a philosopher for showing one the strength of opposition to his views' (p.232).
- 43 Allen, *The European Tour*, p.10.
- 44 *The European Tour*, p.11.
- 45 *The European Tour*, p.7.
- 46 *The European Tour*, p.11.
- 47 Allen, *Cities of Belgium*, p.9.
- 48 Grant Allen, 'Melissa's Tour', *Longman's Magazine*, 18 (June 1891): 150-63 (p.163).
- 49 See Spencer, *Education*, pp.71-2.
- 50 Allen, *Cities of Belgium*, p.6.
- 51 Mrs Jameson's works were endorsed by Allen as essential reading. She was particularly interested in legends of the Madonna.
- 52 Allen wrote that 'it is my intention to take certain products of early Italian art, and show how closely their evolution resembles that familiar process of "descent with modification" which Darwin has pointed out to us in fish and insect, in fern and flower.' See Allen, *Evolution of Italian Art*, p.29. Evolutionary theory was, of course, an important influence as a metaphor and model on much nineteenth-century art history; for a materialist account see, for example, Harry Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper: Architect of the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), pp.156-9.
- 53 This approach was adopted by Franz Kugler whose *Hand-Book of Painting. The German, Flemish, and Dutch Schools* 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1879) was primarily concerned with questions of historical fact and authorship. For a discussion of contemporary controversies around the teaching of art see Giovanni Morelli, *Italian Painters: Critical Studies of their Works*, trans. Constance Ffoulkes (London: John Murray, 1892), pp.1-63.
- 54 Allen, *The European Tour*, p.89.
- 55 Allen, *Paris*, p.86.
- 56 Allen, *Cities of Belgium*, p.7.
- 57 Spencer, *Education*, p.79.
- 58 This was a popular theme of Allen's. See Allen, 'Eye versus Ear', *Post-Prandial Philosophy*, pp.122-9, pp.125-6.
- 59 Allen, *The European Tour*, p.9.
- 60 *The European Tour*, pp.8-9.
- 61 *The European Tour*, p.16, p.58.
- 62 Grant Allen, 'American Duchesses', in *Post-Prandial Philosophy*, pp.35-43 (pp.36-9, p.42). This idea is developed by Allen in a subsequent essay, 'A Glimpse into Utopia', *Westminster Gazette*, 3 (9 January 1894): 1-2 and *Post-Prandial Philosophy*, pp.190-8.
- 63 Morelli, *Italian Painters*, p.2.
- 64 Frederic Harrison, *Among my Books, Centenaries, Reviews, Memoirs* (London: Macmillan, 1912), pp.346-7.
- 65 Allen, *The European Tour*, p.15.
- 66 *The European Tour*, p.11.
- 67 Allen cites this as an example of deductive thinking. See Grant Allen, 'Carving a Cocoa-nut', *Cornhill Magazine*, 36 (October 1877): 461-72 and 'Hellas and Civilisation', *Gentleman's Magazine*, 243 (August 1878): 156-70 (p.170).

- 68 Grant Allen, 'The Growth of Sculpture', *Cornhill Magazine*, 42 (September 1880): 273-93 (pp.282, 292).
- 69 Grant Allen, 'Aesthetic Analysis of an Obelisk', *Cornhill Magazine*, 36 (November 1877): 589-600.
- 70 Grant Allen, 'Nation-Making: A Theory of National Characters', *Gentleman's Magazine*, 243 (November 1878): 580-91 (p.581).
- 71 Grant Allen, 'A Hill-top Stronghold', *Longman's Magazine*, 14 (May 1889): 32-42.
- 72 Grant Allen, 'A Persistent Nationality', *North American Review*, 148 (May 1892): 602-6 (p.604).
- 73 'The education of the child must accord both in mode and arrangement with the education of mankind, considered historically', see Spencer, *Education*, p.70.
- 74 Allen, *The European Tour*, p.144.
- 75 *The European Tour*, pp.20-3.
- 76 Grant Allen, 'A Squalid Village', in *Post-Prandial Philosophy*, pp.95-103.
- 77 Allen, *The European Tour*, pp.73-4.
- 78 *The European Tour*, pp.73-5.
- 79 *The European Tour*, p.66.
- 80 *The European Tour*, p.60.
- 81 *The European Tour*, p.27.
- 82 *The European Tour*, p.42.
- 83 *The European Tour*, pp.44-7, p.62.
- 84 *The European Tour*, p.24.
- 85 *The European Tour*, p.36.
- 86 *The European Tour*, p.108.
- 87 *The European Tour*, p.122.
- 88 *The European Tour*, p.138.
- 89 Grant Allen, *The Woman Who Did* (Toronto: Broadview, 2004), p.106.
- 90 Allen, *The Woman Who Did*, p.104.
- 91 *The Woman Who Did*, p.111.
- 92 *The Woman Who Did*, p.111.
- 93 Allen, *The European Tour*, p.287.

Chapter 2

'How and Where To Go': The Role of Travel Journalism in Britain and the Evolution of Foreign Tourism, 1840–1914

JILL STEWARD

At the beginning of the 21st century, whole sections of the weekend papers and slots of prime-time television are given over to travel journalists who earn a living by telling us 'where and how to go' and the bookshops are full of travel books that often originated as essays in the printed media. Many are written by household names who use their writing to finance their travels (Holland & Huggan, 1998). New aspirants to the genre participate in the relentless competition for public attention. This chapter examines earlier incarnations of this theme, exploring the nature and function of early forms of travel journalism in Britain and its role in the creation of a 'culture of travel' in which popular tourism to foreign destinations began to expand and flourish.

Foreign travel has become something we take for granted. Historians of travel and travel writing are so busy uncovering the many forgotten travellers of the past, particularly women, that they are inclined to forget the novelty attached to foreign travel in the early days of modern tourism and what the experience meant for the many for whom 'abroad' was still uncharted territory. And yet, it was then that the idea of foreign holidays as a normal and desirable part of life first seeped into general consciousness. Tourism in the second half of the 19th century began to serve as a vehicle for the expression of distinctive personal and social identities in ways that laid the foundations for the further development of tourism in the following century. An example of the extent to which a 'culture of travel' had become part of popular consciousness is the late 19th-century phenomenon of the fugue, a form of flight from the everyday that enjoyed an ephemeral status as a form of mental disorder, which Ian Hacking argues was formed by popular tourism, on the one hand, and

vagrancy, on the other (Hacking, 2000). Press coverage reveals a growing complexity in the image of the tourist at the same time as the commercial promotion of tourism anticipated the strategies of modern marketing and its preoccupation with the identification of tourist types differentiated by tastes, preferences and motivations. As magazines and journals began to target reading communities increasingly distinguished by social class and gender, attitudes to tourism as exemplified in the choice of travel destination, type of holiday and tourist practices became important elements in the patterns of consumption and lifestyles of different social groups.

The various genres constituting the body of travel literature are distinguished from each other not so much by their constituent features as through the functions they perform (Todorov, 1998: 287–94). This is certainly true of 19th-century travel literature where the boundaries between the genres replicated the fluidity of boundaries dividing journalism from literature. In this context, not enough credit has been given to the role of the press as a promoter of tourism. Arguably, it was the coverage of foreign travel in the press that helped to make the activity seem normal and routine and a 'taken-for-granted' feature of middle-class life. While it is undoubtedly true that the emergence of new forms of visual culture, allied to popular entertainments in the form of dioramas and panoramas, played an major part in familiarising the public with far-away places and making them attractive and fashionable, so too did the circulation of illustrated printed materials using the new reproductive technologies.

The role played by tourist literature in the formation and maintenance of cultural identity was evident in the practices associated with the aristocratic Grand Tour of the previous two centuries (Towner, 2002), not least of which was the recording of the experience by its participants. As James Douglas (1907) put it: 'Many a man in the epistolary age could not face the terrors of the Grand Tour, for he knew that he would be obliged to spend most of his time describing what he saw or ought to have seen' (cited in Staff, 1978: 79). Published memoirs of particular tours were extremely popular while discussions of the Tour's value featured prominently in the 18th-century press (Towner, 2002: 228). As the aristocratic Grand Tour gave way to its middle-class successor, published accounts of tourist experiences continued to play a role in the formation and codification of the cultural practices through which different social groups defined themselves and others. The new middle-class tourists belonged to a culture in which the time and the expense incurred by foreign travel required justification, so that the task of framing and articulating impressions of what had been seen, expressed in the appropriate way, was an intrinsic part of

the experience of travelling. Sometimes travellers would attempt to impress a wider public than just family and friends with their respectability and cultivation by reworking their diaries, journals and letters home into publishable form.

The expansion in the volume of published travel literature indicated both the persistent desire of tourists to see themselves in print and the belief of editors and publishers in the commercial benefits of matching the vanity of authors with the widespread interest in travel. From the 1830s and 1840s onwards, the widespread circulation of articles in newspapers and periodicals through libraries like Mudie's (opened 1842) encouraged their readers' urge to travel. At the same time, the press provided an arena in which different kinds of tourists were able to defend and promote the particular tastes and preferences of the social circles they represented. The removal of newspaper taxes in 1855 initiated a rapid growth in the number of periodical and daily titles enabling many would-be professional writers to make the bulk of their living by writing for the weekly and daily papers. Many took advantage of the fluidity of the boundaries between literature and journalism making it easy to move between them.

The Swedish anthropologist Orvar Löfgren has written of the early pioneers of tourism that their 'aspirations to describe, represent, evaluate and compare also produced an urge to communicate; to show off, to write, to force others into comparison. Competition requires social exchanges – you cannot remain silent' (Löfgren, 1999: 26). Early tourism, he says, is therefore very much about the struggle with new modes of experience – how to select, judge and represent it and the norms and genres of representation to which the struggle gave rise. While much of this concerned the aesthetic dimensions of the tourist experience, there was a related social dimension to this phenomenon, as newly emerging professional groups fought for social space and cultural recognition. Nowhere were the competitive exchanges which marked this struggle pursued as energetically or as publicly as in the periodical press, the expansion of which created a space and a context that allowed the tourists from different social and cultural milieus, afflicted with the 'urge to communicate', to give voice to their experiences.

The different contexts in which communication took place provided readers of these 'exchanges' not just with the materials for what Löfgren calls 'mind-travelling' but with different models of how to be a tourist and the particular codes of civility they represented. Nineteenth-century travel literature took a number of forms ranging from the well-established formats of the conventional travelogue, diaries and letters and articles in the periodical press and the daily papers, to the memoirs of 'special' or

'foreign correspondents' (Matthews, 1986: 23–4) who often wrote about their travels. In addition, there were more specialised works such as handbooks and spa guides, reviews of new travel books and, from the 1880s onwards, self-conscious literary essays and directive articles of the 'where and how to go' variety. Editors began to find travel features were useful not just as 'fillers' but as a means of articulating and representing the interests, experiences and aspirations of their particular readers.

Professional journalists were particularly eager to share their experiences. George Augustus Sala, for example, began his career as a travel writer with his account of a journey to Russia, which led to a misunderstanding with his editor Charles Dickens; he was then sent abroad as a special correspondent in America for *The Daily Telegraph*. Like his colleagues, Sala regarded himself as a commentator on the social scene, treating changes in the social profile of Britons travelling abroad as symptomatic of social change at home. These journalists extended to tourists and their habits the same kind of curious interest that they bestowed on the indigenous life and customs of the places they visited. Many of the professional writers, artists and illustrators associated with London's 'Bohemia' found themselves occupying social positions that were sufficiently fragile to make them particularly sensitive to the social significance of the behaviour and cultural habits of their fellow citizens (Fox, 1988: 255–6). Not surprisingly therefore, tourists were often the targets of satirical treatment by the artists and writers of humorous magazines like *Punch*, *Fun* and the *Man in the Moon* who were preoccupied with the behaviours of the new social types appearing on British streets.

The press were particularly quick to pick up on the growing popularity of short trips abroad among the new suburban types as they ventured to the Channel ports, Paris or down the Rhine, their new geographical mobility hinting at their growing social mobility. Journalists often mocked the new tourists for their xenophobia and fear of foreign ways. The journalist Albert Smith, whose interest in travel took him to Constantinople in 1850 (Smith, 1850) and encouraged his diatribe against the British hotel trade (Smith, 1855), made the 'Gent' the subject of one of his *Natural Histories*, in which he mocked this character's visit to Boulogne (Smith, 1847). Drawing heavily on the stereotypical images of national characteristics circulating in the British press, he made fun of the 'Gent's' attachment to "'good John Bull joint, and no French kickshaws"... John Bull being generally represented as a vulgar top-booted man verging on apoplexy, with evidently, few ideas of refinement, obstinate, hard-natured; but the Gent conceiveth that on occasions it is ennobling to form an attachment to him' (Smith, 1847: 86–7). A few years later, Richard

Doyle's popular sketch-book narrative the *Foreign Tour of Messrs. Brown, Jones and Robinson* depicted the misfortunes suffered by characters originally created for the *Cornhill Magazine* and *Punch* as they pursued a 'middle class tour' abroad (Doyle, 1854). Their experiences seemed to illustrate William Makepeace Thackeray's observation:

It is amongst the great and often-noticed faults of the Englishman in a foreign land (and particularly of the class we allude to) that he seems to think everyman's hand is against him, and that he assimilates himself with difficulty to the habits of the people amongst whom he resides. His self-created troubles commence on landing and follow him like a spectre on the road.

Cited in 1859 by John Murray in the introduction to his *Handbook to the Continent*, this passage served as a reprimand to those who adopted a negative attitude to travel (Murray, 1859: iii).

An article entitled 'Off for the Holidays' in the *Cornhill Magazine* (Clayden, 1867: 315–22) indicated the appearance of a more relaxed attitude to leisure and growing recognition of the restorative value of a foreign holiday among the cultivated and professional classes. The latter preferred to represent themselves as relatively sophisticated travellers as they enthused over the Alps and took the 'cure' in continental watering places. Accounts of sojourns in foreign resorts (often written by the editorial staff), of Easter in Rome, summer in the Alps and winter on the Riviera appeared in family magazines like *Blackwood's Magazine* and the *Cornhill* at the upper end of the market, encouraging readers to think of continental travel as normal, desirable and relatively straightforward. However, it was these readers who most inclined to dissociate themselves from tourists from outside their own particular social circles, who were invading their favourite resorts and turning the Alps into 'the playground of Europe', according to Leslie Stephen, editor of the *Cornhill*, in 1871.

Most of the *Cornhill's* contributors came from the same background as its audience. As a family magazine, it consciously made an effort to address itself to women by including not only novels but articles by women (Harris, 1986: 382–92). Elizabeth Tuckett's descriptions of informal family holidays in the less-well-known areas of the Alps (Francis Tuckett, her brother, was a prominent member of the Alpine Club) were calculated to appeal to the tastes of her audience and reveal the active involvement of women in new forms of active tourism: her illustrations depicted the ladies tobogganing, for example (Tuckett, 1865a, 1865b: 572–85; 1866, *passim*). Tuckett's sketches of family holidays in alpine resorts illustrate the routines of sightseeing, social events and

communal meals and the formal and informal rules of conduct structuring life in such places (Tuckett, 1867), and her publisher expressed the hope that the work 'may prove useful to some inexperienced travellers who wish to explore parts of the Tyrol that are readily accessible and well-adapted to ladies' (Tuckett, 1866: 312).

Mountain climbing became a vehicle through which members of the professional classes articulated the codes of conduct which defined masculinity and gentility (Hansen, 1995: 300–24). Members of the British Alpine Club often wrote about their activities in the press, which took a close interest in activities which were often described in a kind of rhetorical language that was closely allied to that of imperialism (Hansen, 1995: 319–20). The journalist Albert Smith was thrilled by his ascent of Mont Blanc and he recreated the event so successfully on the London stage 'that Piccadilly and Mont Blanc became allied, as it were, in the public mind' (Hansen, 1995: 308). Sala did not help matters when he told readers of *The Daily Telegraph* that 'the beauties of Swiss scenery can be appreciated by travellers of a very low intellectual calibre...delights girls and children as well as matrons and old men, and, to all save idiots, is cheap' (Sala, 1869: 42). Press attention to the conduct of British visitors abroad distressed 'respectable' tourists like the Rev. Harry Jones, who were anxious that their compatriots' apparent ignorance of the codes of civility should not reflect badly on their 'betters'. In his *Regular Swiss Round: in Three Trips* (1868), the Rev. Jones instructed readers on how to view the Alps in the proper manner so that they would not be mistaken for members of the company of 'idlers and the gamblers, who travel for luxurious pleasure or evil gain' (Jones, 1868: 222).

Not all middle-class tourists were experienced travellers. Advice for such people was to be found in *Queen: the Ladies' Magazine*, founded in 1860 by the publisher Samuel Beeton for a readership comprising a cross-section of middle-class women. Beeton was one of the first editors to grasp that informative features on tourism could help to sell magazines. For three decades, the anonymous editor of *Queen* was Helen Rowe, who had travelled as an 'unprotected female' in Norway (Lowe, 1857) and Sicily (Lowe, 1859) in the company of her mother. She continued to write in this vein for her journal (Watkins, 1985: 185–200). *Queen* made a feature of its travel column 'The Tourist', which was among the first and most professional of its kind. It set out to meet the concerns of its readers, particularly their anxieties about foreign travel, by offering them highly practical advice on 'where and how to go' and detailed suggestions on accommodation, travel arrangements, etiquette, general behaviour and dress. The question and answer section and postal information service created a form

of direct interaction with readers, many of whom still regarded foreign travel as an unknown quantity. *Queen's* columns encouraged women to regard tourism as a liberating and invigorating experience, teaching them to negotiate the perils of life in foreign resorts and encounters with strangers. A number of published queries came from women travelling alone or with female companions, a group for whom the services of Thomas Cook's 'personally conducted' tours were particularly valuable.

Cook's activities were viewed with considerable resentment by certain sections of the public, especially those who resented the invasion of their favourite haunts by their 'social inferiors'. They provided the press with plenty of material for a rancorous debate which threw into relief middle-class assumptions about the relationship between social class and tourist practices. One of the best known diatribes against Cook's 'escorted parties' was written by Cornelius O' Dowd, alias Charles Lever, who regaled readers of the conservative *Blackwood's Magazine* with a particularly virulent piece disparaging the dress, manners and deportment of Mr Cook's customers (Lever, 1865: 230–3). *Punch* frequently ridiculed the social ineptitude of the inexperienced traveller, appealing to its readers' sense of social superiority, and offering jocular advice to the inexperienced (*Punch*, 12 September 1863: 107).

Always *shout* your English sentences at foreigners. They are all deaf...

Take it for granted that everyone is trying to cheat and impose upon you.

Dispute every item in every bill separately.

To ensure civility and respect, see that all your portmanteaus, bags, and hat boxes be labelled MURRAY in the largest capitals. (Anon, 1863)

The up-market London papers like the *Belgravia*, the *Westminster Gazette* and the *Pall Mall Gazette* were all energetic critics of Cook's 'Cockney hordes'. Favourite lines of attack focused on the vulgarity of Cook's clients, whom they regarded as social upstarts, and their inability to benefit from their travels. Adopting an aggressive attitude to his critics, Cook denounced the insolence of the 'hirelings and witlings of a very small section of the London press' in his monthly magazine the *Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser* (Brendon, 1991: 95). Using these attacks for publicity purposes, he addressed an angry retort in a pamphlet supported by testimonials from customers who were much aggrieved by public attacks on their respectability. In an interview with Edmund Yates, 'My excursion agent' for the journal *All the Year Round* (1864), he defended

the respectability of his parties, pointing out that while the social profile of his Swiss parties varied according to the season and therefore included 'the cockney element ...[who] carry London everywhere about them in dress, habits, and conversation, and rush back, convinced that they are great travellers', at other times they were composed of 'the ushers and governesses, practical people from the provinces, and representatives of the better style of the London mercantile community... all travel as if impressed with the notion that they are engaged in fulfilling the wishes of a lifetime, in a pleasant duty never to be repeated' (Wilson, 1951: 311–12). In his own publicity magazine the *Traveller's Gazette and Excursionist* (subsequently the *Excursionist and International Tourist Adviser*), Cook briskly joined issue in 1872 with the *Athenaeum's* criticism of his proposed 'Archaeological Tour to Rome' pointing out that he was actively attempting 'to awaken in the mind of the multitude that thirst for intellectual knowledge, the absence or deficiency of which the *Athenaeum* has so often deplored' (Cook, 1872).

Cook was not without friends in the press. Albert Smith's (n.d.) *The Adventures of Christopher Tadpole* gave a sympathetic account of a young man and his aunt enjoying Italy with Mr Cook, while the approach of Arthur Sketchley (a pseudonym of George Rose) to the 'Cookists', as Sala labelled them, took the form of cockney monologues describing the adventures of the loquacious Mrs Brown, her husband and friends, as they travelled in the care of the 'sainted Mr Cook' (Sketchley, 1870). *Out for a Holiday with Cooks* (1870) drew on Rose's own first-hand experience (at Cook's invitation). Usually read as condescending middle-class commentaries on Cook's clientele, these pieces could also be taken as glowing testimonials to the efficiency of the organisation and the satisfaction of its customers. By the end of the decade, as George Augustus Sala (always a supporter) was able to point out, 'Mr Cook can afford to smile at his detractors' (Sala, 1879: 1, 157).

Agency magazines like the *Excursionist* were particularly important vehicles for the promotion of tourist opportunities. Cook's monthly magazine remained the best known and Cook initially wrote much of it himself. In 1864, the *Excursionist* had circulation figures of just over 2000. Three years later, this had risen to about 58,000. By 1873, as a sign of Cook's growing respectability, it was taken by London clubs and an American edition began. By 1892, it had a global circulation of 120,000 with French, Austrian, American, Indian, Australian and German editions. At the end of the century, it was published in several different languages in London, Hamburg, Vienna, Paris and New York, each edition adapted to a particular clientele (Brendon, 1991: 326, n. 17). The Paris

edition was the most old-fashioned in its layout and typography and reflected the relative conservatism of the French market, while the Hamburg edition became increasingly nationalistic in its tone. Shifts in contents and growing sensitivity to potential markets can be seen as indices of social change, as for example, in an anonymous short story about a pair of young American women (Anon., 1906), published in the Hamburg edition (an important entry point for American visitors to Europe), suggesting an awareness of the potential market among young women.

Underlying the expansion of tourism and publishing was a developing consumer culture with a strong visual component. The production of popular, illustrated travel literature aimed at a wider and less affluent market drew on the same reproductive technologies that placed advertising at the heart of the new visual culture, and linked changes in society to new forms of consumer culture. Stereoscopes, travel posters, postcards and the early cinema at first supplemented and then replaced the dioramas and panoramas of earlier days and gave visual expression to the stereotypical descriptions of people and places constantly reiterated by the travel press. Images of pretty girls were used to sell a range of products including magazines, while advertisements for travel and travel goods positioned readers as potential travellers. The growth of the travel press was bound up with the expansion of the tourist industry where internal competition encouraged the development of new forms of health and recreational tourism. A number of writers began to specialise in the production of travel literature, anticipating the appearance of the modern travel journalist as they helped readers to choose from the many new foreign resorts and spas by identifying the kind of society they attracted, their principal attractions and the range of health and sports facilities they offered.

Press coverage of elite tourism was indicative of the way that the upper classes were fragmenting into discrete circles as their members began to define themselves in terms of wealth, lifestyle, tastes and disposable wealth rather than their social origins (Davidoff, 1973). Choice of recreational activities became an element in the mechanisms by which particular social circles created and maintained the distinctions between themselves and others. The press contributed to this process as it chronicled the presence and habits of the celebrities of British high society and their 'sets' at play in their favourite foreign resorts, and made tourist travel into yet another form of conspicuous consumption through which the socially ambitious sought to improve their position.

Newspapers and journals responded to growing competition by targeting different reading communities and catering for their particular

tastes and interests (Jackson, 2001: 30, 272–4). The *Pall Mall Gazette* for example, like *Belgravia*, included travel pieces by urbane professionals such as Grant Allen (Steward, 2005) in an attempt to accommodate both its more sophisticated readers and those with life-style aspirations (Onslow, 2002: 160–77). Allen expressed himself in typically acerbic mode as he reflected on the wealthy London types to be found in the casino at Monte Carlo (Allen, 1893: 4). *Queen's* coverage continued to be pre-eminent although the magazine's circulation declined from 23,500 in 1890 to 16,000 in 1900. The magazine adopted a format that brought it closer to the newer artistic and literary magazines like the *Idler*, the *Author*, *To-Day* and the *Sketch* as it became more focused on the leisure activities of the 'upper 10,000' as it termed them, many of whom were to be found in the newly fashionable resorts of the Caribbean and the spa resorts of North Africa. *Queen's* preoccupation with fashionable health treatments, such as the air and sun cures at Veldes (1900), was very much in tune with prevalent upper-class concerns about 'degeneration' expressed in medical diagnoses of 'brain-fag', hysteria and neurasthenia (Steward, 2002: 23–36). From 1894 onwards, the *Queen Book of Travel* began to issue its useful annual compendia of up-to-date travel information, including lists of all the principal resorts at home and abroad, both new and traditional (Cox, 1894). It placed particular emphasis on health resorts, indicating their appropriateness to the reader's social situation, pocket and the season and presenting a 'tourist geography' in which places were distinguished by their distinctive qualities of their sun, air, waters and snow, the nature of their health regimes and accommodation and their popularity or obscurity (Shields, 1991; Hughes, 1998).

The enthusiasm for health and exercise was noted by *Punch*, for whom F.C. Burnand dutifully sampled the 'cures' for modern life offered by continental spas and noted their debilitating effects (Burnand, 1884: 148–9). The vogue for active tourism among the aristocracy was extensively covered by *Queen's* competitors such as the *Badminton Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*. George Newnes' *Wide World Magazine*, the editorial motto of which was 'truth is stranger than fiction', aimed at a more popular market and featured anecdotal articles by men and women engaged in active sports such as cycling, tobogganing and shooting, many of whom were anxious to see themselves in print, often accompanied by photographs (Jackson, 2001). The Pennells, a husband and wife team, were particularly active in this respect. Their journey from 'Berlin to Budapest on a Bicycle' (1892), complete with Joseph Pennell's illustrations, was serialised in the *Illustrated London News*. At the turn of the century, motoring became a fashionable new diversion. New specialist magazines also

appeared. The *Picture Postcard: a Magazine of Travel, Philately and Art* offered something of everything. The short-lived *New Traveller's Magazine* was published by one of the many women's clubs springing up in the West End of London (Rappaport, 2000). Its editor, H. Ellen Browning, had previously published a travel book describing her Hungarian adventures (Browning, 1896).

Henry Lunn had begun his career as a travel agent selling Switzerland to the clergy and he continued to seek out various kinds of niche markets not covered by Cook, which he publicised through his magazine *Travel* (Lunn, 1940). He now took advantage of the fashion for active sports, founding the Public Schools Alpine Association, as well as putting on Mediterranean cruises which, complete with educational lectures, eventually became the Swan Hellenic tours. Lunn encouraged his clients to put their experiences into print via the pages of *Travel*. Taking advantage of the publicity accruing to cycling feats, he serialised John Foster Fraser's account of his trip round the world in the company of a younger Lunn although the itineraries of the company's own cycle tours were rather less adventurous (Foster Fraser, 1897–8).

Lunn's Co-operative parties targeted a new generation of cultural tourists, often young teachers of the kind who were graduating from organisations like Canon Barnett's Toynbee Hall and the Regent Street Polytechnic, both of which were introducing their students to the educational benefits of foreign travel (Bailey, 1978). Always alert for new customers, Lunn commissioned L.T. Meade, an established writer for young people, to write a short story for his promotional magazine *Travel*, for which he adopted the format of an ordinary magazine. Meade's story combined the image of the 'modern' young working woman with that of tourist as the 'lady-like' young heroine, exemplifying the new type of independent 'working girl', finds herself out of work and takes a trip to Rome with a Co-operative tour party. Competence as a tourist brings romance and a job as a professional travel writer (Meade, 1898–9: 571–7).

As this story suggests, from the 1890s onwards a number of authors were able to make a living as professional travel writers. One of *Queen's* leading contributors for the period was the travel writer Douglas Sladen, Honorary Secretary of the Authors' Club, whom *Queen's* new editor Percy Cox commissioned to write a series of articles on Canada reflecting the upper-class fashion for travel in the dominions (Watkins, 1985: 198). Sladen's young assistant Norma Lorimer went on to become a travel writer in her own right. Journalism was now a fashionable career for young women wishing to enter the labour market (Onslow, 2001). For these young people, Mrs Alex Tweedie must have seemed something of a

role model. Making her name with *A Girl's Ride in Iceland* (1889), she went on to earn a reasonable living as a travel writer, working for a number of different periodicals including *The New York Times*, *Badminton* and *Queen*.

Writers with literary ambitions and pecuniary needs found that travel writing could be more highly regarded than 'popular fiction' and appeared to be less affected by the exclusive and hierarchical distinctions structuring the market for novels (Frawley, 1994). Even so, in a competitive and over-subscribed market, it was often difficult for would-be writers to find ways of selling themselves and their travels or positioning themselves at the more prestigious end of the literary market place. Here, the location was less significant than the treatment of the subject. 'Sensitivity' and high cultural content frequently reflected the cultural capital of their authors, many of whom remained anxious to distance themselves from the 'common herd' and the commercial taint of 'Grub street'. A good strategy was to be first to a place; but that honour, once bestowed, was gone forever. A more realistic strategy was to seek places off the 'beaten track' or beyond the well-established boundaries of the main tourist regions. It became ever harder to find peasants who had never posed for a camera or new examples of the disappearing peasant cultures feted in the pages of the arts and crafts magazine, *Studio*. The latter's Austrian correspondent Amelia S. Levetus had begun her own career as the Viennese correspondent of *The Daily Graphic* when she had turned in a number of articles on Austrian resorts, before becoming an art critic.

The European borderlands of Russian Poland, the Balkans or the Adriatic all made good copy. 'Adventures' in these regions were made considerably easier and more comfortable by the extension of the railway networks and the appearance of tourist associations in remote areas like the Carpathians. The relative unfamiliarity of such places gave them a novelty value of the kind appreciated by editors and that testified to the authenticity of their experiences and the originality of the author's performance as intrepid tourist. The travel press contributed to changing perceptions of Europe by helping to redefine the relationship between the centre and the periphery, clothing the more backward and alien areas in the language of tourism and making them seem less remote and intimidating, although Emily Gerard's account of the superstitious Romanian peasants in *Land Beyond the Forest* (1888) (first published as a series of articles) caught the imagination of Bram Stoker, author of *Dracula* (1897).

The domestication of these areas was assisted by the activities of a handful of young women to whom the press accorded celebrity status. The scourge of the 1890s New Woman, Mrs Lynn Linton, declared in the *Nineteenth Century* (1891: 602–3): 'We are becoming a little surfeited with

Wild Women as globetrotters and travellers... for the sake of a subsequent book of travels, and the *kudos* with the pence accruing'. She was possibly referring to Muriel Menie Dowie, whose articles on her Carpathian experiences in the *Fortnightly Review* (1890) describing her costume (knickerbockers and leggings), shooting practice (in case of attack by bears and wolves) and sleeping in the open, caused a minor sensation (Dowie, 1890: 520–30). Dowie's personal attractiveness, eye-catching outfits and interest in publicity allowed her to infiltrate the world of journalism by making her into a subject of considerable media interest, reinforced by her book about cross-dressing women adventurers and New Woman novel *Gallia* (1895) (Furniss, 1923).

James Clifford and others have recently reminded us that the feelings evoked by particular sights, places and modes of journeying are constituted by the distinctions recognised in the forms of the language in which they are embedded (Clifford, 1997). The authors of the new tourist literature, like many aspiring professionals in Victorian society, were sensitive to their right to social and cultural space and to the implications of the distinction between 'art' and 'commodity' that mapped on to the divisions between 'travellers' and 'tourists' (Buzard, 1993), 'gentlemen' and 'players', 'writers' and 'journalists', 'amateurs' and 'professionals' and the distinctions of feeling, sentiment and moral worth associated with them. The figure of the authentic 'writer' as a form of 'pilgrim', for whom both travel and writing constituted part of an inner journey, could only be given definition by contrast with the 'literary hacks' of 'Grub Street', who, like the generalised figure of the stereotypical 'tourist' for whom they catered, became a metaphor for the commercialised production of literature and the inferior form of cultural experience it engendered.

But '[H]onour the tourist: he walks in a halo of romance', declared Vernon Lee in an essay on 'modern travelling' in *Macmillan's Magazine*, thinking of the schoolteacher, clerk or typist for whom tourist travel was a transformative experience (Lee, 1894: 310–11). The sociologist Zygmunt Bauman, who, like others, has taken the tourist as a kind of allegorical figure for a way of existing that is expressive of our times, commented in 1995 that

one thinks of identity whenever one is not sure where one belongs; that is, one is not sure of how to place oneself among the evident variety of behavioural styles and patterns, and how to make sure both sides would know how to go on in each other's presence. (Bauman, 1995: 81–2, 96)

If, as Bauman argues, tourism has now become a central element in contemporary negotiations of identity, I suggest that the travel press

played a part in the early stages of this process. For it was in the competitive arena of the periodical press that the world was presented as something to be consumed and it was here that the search for novelty, authenticity and difference was at its most frenetic. The new breed of travel journalists not only constructed their images of their own social and cultural identities but also contributed to the formation of those available to others. By presenting readers with the world as a set of potential experiences to be chosen and consumed, by constantly asking 'Where will you go next?', they presented their readers with a set of choices through which they could express their individual tastes and preferences, and thereby their desires and fantasies, if not in reality, at least in their dreams.

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CHAPTER 17

Representations of Spa Culture in the Nineteenth-Century British Media: Publicity, the Press and the *Villes d'Eaux* (1800-1914)

Jill STEWARD

"It was the opening of the season of eighteen hundred and thirty-two, at the Baths of Wildbad (1866),"¹ is the opening line of Wilkie Collins's novel *Armada* [1866], set at time when it was common practice for those, like himself, who suffered from gout to be recommended to visit a spa.² There would however, have been relatively few British visitors to the particular type of small watering place described in the novel, although they might well have been seen in Spa, Baden Baden or Aix-les-Bains. All this changed in the following decades as it became increasingly fashionable for the British upper and middle classes to take the waters abroad, seeking not just therapy, but also rest and recuperation of a kind that often involved serious attention to pleasure.

This essay is concerned with the process that led nineteenth-century British travellers to visit spas like Wildbad or Dax. There were three aspects of this: the first is the development of spa culture across continental Europe, leading to a considerable expansion in the number of towns and settlements economically dependent, in some measure, on the spa trade and health tourism and the emergence of overlapping regional and national networks of spas which constituted

¹Wilkie Collins, *Armada* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 9.

²Roy Porter and G.S. Rousseau, *Gout: the Patrician Malady* (New Haven/London: Yale University, 1998), 172.

a form of “system,” manifested in the choices of destination apparent to customers from within particular social and geographical spaces they inhabited. (Fig.1)³ For British travellers the range of possibilities, apart from their own spas and hydros, included the spas and health resorts of Germany (including the Bohemian spas), Switzerland, France and at the end of century, the south Tyrol and north Africa. The second is the actual means by which places became visible and attractive to their customers, a process that was itself largely dependent upon the emergence of new mechanisms for the dissemination of publicity. And finally, underlying both, was the development of complex modern societies in which patterns of travel became a feature of the lifestyles through which the upper and middle classes expressed and maintained distinctive social and cultural identities. To members of the nineteenth-century British elites, participation in continental spa culture represented, not just the search for health, but also a way of distancing themselves from the effects of widened participation in seaside tourism that was reconfiguring the spaces of their favourite resorts at home.⁴

A consequence of this was that in Britain spa culture developed along rather different lines from other European countries.⁵ Whereas, across much of the continent, it was the development of spa towns and colonies that paved the way for the development of modern forms of

³ See Andreas Mai, “Breaking New Ground: Assimilating the Periphery into a Recreational Landscape of Germany and France,” *Proceedings of the International Society for the Study of European Ideas (ISSEI)* (Bergen, August, 2000), on the subject of a “system” utilising space-concepts originating in the work of Henri Lefebvre. See also Rob Shields, “Places on the Margin,” *In Places on the Margin, Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (London /New York: Routledge, 1991), 83-101 for a discussion of place-images and systems. Here I have concentrated primarily on watering places associated with mineral waters.

⁴ John K. Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: A Social History 1750-1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1983).

⁵ See for example, H. Lachmeyer, S. Mattl-Wurm and C. Gargerle, eds., *Das Bad, eine Geschichte der Badkultur in 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Salzburg, Residenz, 1991); Jill Steward, “The Spa Towns of the Austro-Hungarian Empire,” in *New Directions in Urban History: Aspects of European Art, Health, Tourism and Aspects of Leisure since the Enlightenment*, ed. by Peter Borsay, Gunter Hirshfelder, Ruth-E. Mohrmann (Waxmann: Münster/New York, 1998), 87-125.

recreational and health tourism, in England the spa towns that had catered for the eighteenth-century elites were largely abandoned by their former patrons in favour of watering places abroad. Foreign travel was inherently exclusive, remaining relatively time-consuming and expensive until the next century so that initially the majority of travellers to the Continent were drawn from the aristocracy. These were soon joined by the wealthy middle classes, influenced by the desire for social distinction, medical advice and the fashion for the new institution of the summer holiday. The great majority of those who travelled abroad did so primarily in search of amusement, although many were also concerned with the maintenance of health and the prevention of disease. Even those who visited a spa solely for pleasure often travelled in parties that included people who were taking a cure.⁶

A major factor encouraging the fashion to go abroad was the growth of print culture. The rapid expansion of the printing and publishing industries produced a flood of books and articles that contributed to the widespread dissemination of information about the health-giving properties of foreign waters and climates and promoted a new appreciation of the natural beauties that were regarded as one of the most attractive features of continental watering places. Promotional guides to individual spas gave them a distinctive identity and influenced the way they were seen and experienced by visitors while spas settings were often used as the *mise-en-scene* for many nineteenth-century novels. Books and articles extolling the efficacy of continental regimes actively encouraged their readers to travel abroad, particularly to Germany, where forms of natural healing, a subject of controversy within the medical profession at home although popular within high society, were more widely practised.⁷

⁶ To some extent this explains the frequent discrepancy between the numbers registered as curists and the much higher numbers registered as visitors that appears in spa statistics.

⁷ See Robert Jütte, *Geschichte der Alternativen Medizin: von der Volksmedizin zu den unkonventionellen Therapien von Heute* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1996), especially 145-78. For upper-class interest in homeopathy see Glynis Rankin, "Professional Organisation and the Development of Medical Knowledge: Two Interpretations of Homeopathy," in *Studies in the History of Alternative Medicine*, ed. Roger Cooter (Basingstoke: Macmillans and St Antony's College, Oxford, 1988), 146-62. Jill Steward, "The Culture of the Water Cure in Nineteenth-Century Austria, 1800-1914," in Susan

Doctors were increasingly inclined to recommend their wealthier patients to try foreign waters and climates, particularly those suffering from consumptive and pulmonary disorders, with the result that growing numbers travelled abroad to take the waters and find more salubrious climates. The popularity of hydrotherapy with the general public did not extend to widespread support of hydropathic establishments, such as those at Malvern and Matlock, which, although attractive to some of the middle classes, were unable to counter the lure of the Continent or the growing reputation of the Continental spas, especially those of Germany.⁸ German establishments were generally regarded as offering a wider range of waters, more specialised treatments and better social amenities than their English equivalents. Importantly for the middle classes, they were also substantially cheaper.⁹ In the early twentieth century Britons were to be found in a number of French spas, although France was most popular as a place in which to spend the winter. This was one of the principal reasons why not even the revival of spas like Harrogate could staunch the flow of Britons seeking health abroad, so that, by 1911, while one patient in every thirty at a European watering place was British, only one in a thousand at a British spa was European.

Where did the British go? In the absence of a serious comparative study of spa statistics,¹⁰ press reports and evidence for individual

B. Anderson and Bruce Tabb, *Water, Leisure and Culture* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002), 23-35.

⁸ Kelvin Rees, "Water as commodity: Hydropathy in Matlock" in Cooter, *Studies in the History of Alternative Medicine*, 45-61. See also J. Bradley, M..D. Dupree and A.J. Durie, "Taking the Water-cure: the Hydropathic Movement in Scotland, c. 1840-1940," *Business and Economic History* 26 (1998): 426-37.

⁹ Dr A.B. Granville attributes the decline of the English spas to misrepresentation, poor management, poor medical practice, high prices and lack of amenities, all of which encouraged families of the middle class to go elsewhere, *The Spas of England, and Principal Sea-Bathing Places*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1841), 1: xxxviii-ix. See also William Bacon, "The Rise of the German and the Demise of the English Spa Industry: a Critical Analysis of Business Success and Failure," *Leisure Studies* 16 (1997): 173-87.

¹⁰ See for example: John Soane, *Fashionable Resort Regions: Their Evolution and Transformation with Particular Reference to Bournemouth, Nice, Los Angeles and Wiesbaden* (Wallingford: CAB International, 1993), 204;

resorts suggest that the aristocratic elites favoured the more fashionable international resorts such as Spa (in the early period), Wiesbaden, Baden Baden and Aix; in the second-half of the century Homberg acquired a reputation as the premier English spa while Vichy, Royat and the Bohemian spas of Carlsbad and Marienbad also had supporters.¹¹ Most French *villes d'eaux*, apart from Aix, remained relatively invisible to the majority of middle-class British tourists until the last years of the century, when the spas of the Central Massif became better known and those of the Pyrenees acquired a reputation as winter stations. Many of the German spas were, by contrast, popular throughout the century, including a number of the smaller, more specialist ones, where the British often undertook "serious cures." This pattern persisted until the twentieth century, when better publicity for the French spas attracted more British while bad relations with Germany and an improvement in the domestic spas also encouraged people to stay at home.¹²

This account points to some of the factors influencing general trends, but leaves open the question of why, as many more spas became accessible to British visitors, particularly in France, the British chose to visit the ones they did. Why choose Homberg rather

Burkhard Fuhs, *Mondäne Orte einer vornehmen Gesellschaft: Kultur und Geschichte der Kurstädte 1700-1900* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1992), 355; the latter figures show that the English represented a quarter of the foreigners present in the spa during the period 1858-1862 (1,889 out of a total of 7,577 foreigners against 11,769 Germans). In the smaller but highly anglicised spas like Nauheim the numbers were much less, for example, in 1892 there were 142 British out of a total of 10,272 and in 1901 1,055 out of a total of 19,883, *The Visitor's Guide to Bad-Nauheim* (Society for Attracting Visitors to Bad-Nauheim, Wagner, c. 1902), 44.

¹¹ John McPherson M.D. claims Homberg was the most popular bath in Europe but more with the English, Americans and French than with the Germans, although the French presence went into rapid decline after the Franco-Prussian War, *The Baths and Wells of Europe*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1873), 202-3. See Douglas Mackaman, "Competing Visions of Urban Grandeur: Planning and Developing Nineteenth-Century Spa Towns in France," in Borsay *et al.*, *New Directions in Urban History*, 60-61, on the rise of "thermal nationalism."

¹² See for example, the novelist Louise Moulton, "Brides-les-Bains," *Lazy Tours in Spain and Elsewhere* (London: Ward Lock, 1896), 254-63. The author visits only as a tourist, although she takes cures in Aix, Marienbad, Carlsbad, Schlangenbad and Wiesbaden.

than Vichy, for example? Or Wiesbaden, rather than Aix? Why did Royat suddenly become fashionable? As David Blackbourn points out, the elite visitors to the most fashionable watering places often spread their favours around, not just from one season to another but within the same summer.¹³ And while, as he observes, the international lifestyles of the very rich and politically active and competition between the spas were clearly important reasons for their behaviour, this does not entirely explain the ups and downs of fashion, why some places were “in” or “coming” and in others the season unexpectedly, less than “brilliant.” Nor does it explain choices made by members of the upper classes who did not identify with the international set or who were middle class, many of whom also habitually patronised foreign watering places, but not necessarily the most fashionable.

It is therefore worth asking the question of what kind of information was available to travellers, which might influence their choice of spa and where was it obtained? What were the reasons that led someone to spend time and money in a particular resort? In the early days of thermal tourism, information about particular spas often came from the physicians associated with the local waters and who were concerned to promote their use. An estimate of medical publications on British waters between 1660- and 1800, counted c. 414 publications.¹⁴ Information about the continent was most likely to be obtained through word of mouth or from published letters and diaries, such as Tobias Smollett’s *Travels through France and Italy*.¹⁵ References to medical topography were standard features of travel writing from the late seventeenth century to the end of the nineteenth

¹³ David Blackbourn, “‘Taking the Waters’: Meeting Places of the Fashionable World,” in *The Mechanics of Internationalism*, ed. Martin Geyer and Johannes Paulmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 453. See also “Fashionable Spa Towns in Nineteenth-century Europe,” in Anderson and Tabb, *Water, Leisure and Culture*, 19-35.

¹⁴ Cited, Digby, 1994, 213.

¹⁵ Tobias Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 321. See also Henry Matthews, *The Diary of an Invalid: Being the Journal of a Tour in Pursuit of Health in Portugal, Italy, Switzerland and France in the Years 1817, 1818 and 1819* (London: John Murray, 1820).

century.¹⁶ Places were often discussed in terms of their salubrious qualities, since invalids were frequently recommended to take the waters for particular ailments or try a change of air, standard advice for consumptives. Montpellier, Lisbon and Livorno were all examples of resorts noted for their climates and often recommended to wealthy invalids as suitable environments for winter residence.¹⁷ Smollett was both a physician and a consumptive and took a personal and scientific interest in mineral waters, being particularly impressed with those of Aix, and his detailed notes on the climate of Nice contributed greatly to the area's reputation with readers, some of whom even felt encouraged to join the local *villégiature* community.

In the post-Napoleonic era, when the British first began to travel abroad in significant numbers, personal testimony remained one of the most useful sources of information available to doctors and patients and increasingly available in the letters and journals of the many nineteenth-century travellers who made their experiences public. Included among these were reports from British practitioners with a particular interest in mineral waters and their therapeutic properties who made expeditions abroad, one of the most adventurous being Richard Bright, who visited the spas of Budapest.¹⁸ Doctors were increasingly inclined to support wealthy patients in their wish to travel abroad to the extent that one observer commented that: "Spa and some

¹⁶ See Richard Wrigley and George Revill, eds., *Pathologies of Travel*, Wellcome Institute Series in the History of Medicine, Clio Medica 56, (Amsterdam: Rodolphi, 2000). See, for example, James Johnson, *The Pursuit of Health: an Autumnal Excursion through France, Italy, Switzerland, and Italy in the Year 1829, with Observations and Reflections on the Moral, Physical, and Medicinal Influence of Travelling-Exercise, Change of Scene, Foreign Skies and Voluntary Expatriation* (London: Highley, 1831).

¹⁷ Clark Lawlor and Akihito Suzuki have argued that the aestheticization of consumption in the eighteenth-century as part of its construction as a desirable disease, generated a culture of narcissistic dramatization around the disease in which physicians played their part by advising travel and a change of air, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 174 (2000): 458-94. See also Roy Porter, "Consumption: disease of the Consumer Society?," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), 471.

¹⁸ Dr Richard Bright, *Travels from Vienna through Lower Hungary with Some Remarks on the State of Vienna during the Congress of the Year 1814* (Edinburgh: A. Constable, 1818).

other continental watering places, have been much deserted by foreigners, on account of the number of British who have thronged here.”¹⁹ In this, doctors, acknowledging the growing importance of the Continent in the lives of their patients and confronted with an increasingly competitive “medical market place,” were orientating their behaviour towards the needs and expectations of the individuals on whom they depended for a living.²⁰ They were therefore likely to agree with the author of an article in *Blackwood's* [1861] that to avoid the unpleasantness of “the overcrowded and inefficacious Scottish spas” or the “nauseous and unpalatable English waters... for healing waters the invalid must pass beyond the seas that encompass Great Britain.”²¹ But, where to send the patient?

Initially the British looked for a “change of air” only in large and well-known spas like Aix, Wiesbaden or Baden Baden where they gambled and mixed with the continental aristocracy who habitually spent their summers there.²² Nor did middle-class participation in foreign travel immediately lead to a better appreciation of foreign mineral waters. Francis Head visited the spas of Nassau in 1834 and commented on the hundreds of thousands of English who “mournfully” travelled up and down the Rhine “with their mouths, eyes and purses wide open,” oblivious to the attractions of the adjacent spas; “and yet” he mused, “there is no one country on Earth that could turn out annually more consumptive, rheumatic and dyspeptic patients than Old England.”²³ Head’s own memoir, *Bubbles from the Brunnens of Nassau* (1834), showed how a successful book could generate public interest and new custom. Mary Shelley’s journal, written while taking a cure at Kissingen, notes that it was the *Bubbles* that had “brought the baths of Nassau into fashion with us” along with August Granville’s *Spas of Germany* (1837), which

¹⁹ Sir Francis Head, *Bubbles from the Brunnens of Nassau: by an Old Man* (London: J. Murray, 1834), 26-28.

²⁰ Ian Waddington, *The Medical Profession in the Industrial Revolution* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, Humanities Press, 1984), 193.

²¹ “Meditations on Dyspepsia II: The Cure,” *Blackwood's Edinburgh* 90 (October, 1861)1: 413-15.

²² Frances Trollope, *Belgium and Western Germany in 1833: Including Visits to Baden-Baden, Wiesbaden, Cassel, Hanover, the Hartz Mountains* (London: J. Murray, 1834), 68-70. She described Cheltenham as more depressing than Wiesbaden, but with opera, 98.

²³ Head, 1834, 26-8, gives a lively account of the scene.

"extended our acquaintance with the spas of Germany: and in particular gave reputation to those situated in Bavaria."²⁴

Unlike French doctors, German spa physicians were quick to recognise the financial benefits of the new English visitors. While Mary Shelley was taking her cure, Granville left his fashionable London practice at the invitation of the King of Bavaria to practice in nearby Bruckenuau. According to Shelley, the King was so anxious for his baths to emulate the financial success of other German spas that he "decorated Dr Granville's button-hole with a bit of ribbon, much to the despair of the native physicians" who resented seeing "the social current of English guineas turned away from themselves." But, she reflected: "as he is the cause of many coming here, he has certainly a right to profit by their visits." Granville himself continued to practice there for a number of years.²⁵ The success of his book was indicative of the new interest in the curative effects of water among the upper and middle classes. Doctors, whose patients were determined to give foreign mineral waters "a trial in their own complaints" after reading a book such as the *Bubbles*, found themselves having to seek further advice on a subject on which they admitted to having little specific knowledge.²⁶

From 1836, they were assisted by a growing number of memoirs, travelogues, guides and articles in newspapers and periodicals, aimed at an increasingly diverse readership as the reduction in newspaper

²⁴ Mary Shelley, *Rambles in Germany and Italy, in 1840, 1842 and 1843*, 2 vols. (London: Edward Moxon, 1844), 1: 170; Dr A. B. Granville, *The Spas of Germany*, 2 vols. (London: Baudry's European Library, 1837). See Bacon, 184. Dr Granville was clearly familiar with material published by German spa physicians when he embarked on his visit. Other examples of travellers who explicitly mention Granville are Anne, Lady Vavasour, *My Last Tour and First Work: or, A Visit to the Baths of Wildbad and Rippoldsau* (London: H. Cunningham, 1842), and M. Quin, *Steam Voyages on the Seine, the Moselle & the Rhine: with Railroad Visits to the Principal Cities of Belgium* (London: H. Colburn, 1843). Quin records seeing "Several persons of rather gentlemanly appearance were walking as rapidly as they could along the footpath... dressed in cloaks saturated with water...[we], were informed these disciples of Undine were so many patients undergoing the new treatments..." (120-21).

²⁵ A.B. Granville, *Kissingen, Its Sources and Resources* (London: G.W. Nickisson, 1846).

²⁶ Shelley, 1844, 1:198.

duties took effect. The publishing industry became an important vehicle for the communication of information and the airing of debates on every topic likely to sell publications, including matters of health and travel. Expansion created a context for the emergence of a specialised medical press, of which the *Lancet* (1823-), was a notable example, cutting across local networks and facilitating discussion and the sharing of information across the profession, as in the case of articles in the *Lancet* (1836), on the topic of the German waters.²⁷

A subject widely covered in the general and medical press was the controversial cold water-cure as practised in Gräfenberg in Austria.²⁸ Attitudes to “alternative” forms of medicine were divided.²⁹ Works such as John Smedley’s *Practical Hydropathy* [1858] made information easily available to the lay public,³⁰ but many British doctors strongly disapproved of the popular enthusiasm, an attitude exemplified by a letter in the *Lancet* which took issue with the status accorded to “cold-water quackery” against those labelled as “drug-doctors.” Hydropathy and homeopathy (also practised in German

²⁷ J.I. Ikin, “Observations on the Medicinal Properties and Uses of Some of the Principal Mineral Springs of Germany,” *The Lancet* (August 20 and 27, 1836): 697-706, 758-9.

²⁸ For a convert see Richard Claridge, *Hydropathy or the Cold Water Cure, as Practised by Vincent Priessnitz at Graefenberg, Silesia, Austria* (London: James Madden, 1842). See also Steward, *The Culture of the Water Cure*, 28. In Austria, hydrotherapy and balneology were both formally recognised within academic medicine in the 1860s. Natural healing traditions also continued to feed into “alternative medicine.” For the relationship with academic medicine see E. Lesky, *The Vienna Medical School of the Nineteenth Century* trans. L. Williams and I. S. Levi (London/Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1976), 301-2.

²⁹ For a convert, see Richard Claridge, *Hydropathy or the Cold Water Cure, as Practised by Vincent Priessnitz at Graefenberg, Silesia, Austria* (see note 28).

³⁰ John Smedley, *Practical Hydrotherapy*, 1858. There were heated discussions in the *Lancet* on the topic, see for example, “Hydropathy in Germany, Graefenberg and Priessnitz,” *The Lancet* (May 20, 1843): 274-6, John Hall, “Hydropathy, or the Cold Water Cure. (Death),” *The Lancet* 48 (November 7, 1846): 512-4. The subject came in for much ironic comment in the middle-class press, see for example, “The Pleasures and Advantages of Hydrotherapy,” *Queen* (October 5, 1861): 73.

spas)³¹ had supporters in the highest social circles.³² Thomas Mayo, the president of the Royal College of Physicians, gave a lecture (1860), "on the relations of the public to the science and practice of medicine" and problems in the relationship between patient and practitioner. He identified the need for the public to be well informed if it was to make sensible decisions between "conflicting schools of medicine."³³ Pointing to the wilfulness of a "poorly informed public" in the face of medical scepticism, he cited the success of the Priessnitz' "cold water cure," the product of an "untutored Silesian peasant," arguing for the "expediency of an increased amount of medical and physiological knowledge of the public who select for themselves both medical systems and medical advisers."³⁴

Doctors not infrequently advised foreign cures because, as one doctor wearily commented, it was difficult to control patients at home, and combat "long contracted habits, and to induce proper attention to health-laws, while the patient is exposed to temptation; and we all know also how readily many individual who have been quite unmanageable at home, become submissive under fresh influences."³⁵ Granville was not the only doctor who practiced abroad. Some with wealthy patients often practised abroad for part of the year, a service to their customers that was much appreciated, since the British preferred to be treated by an English doctor, or, at worst, one that spoke English. Edwin Lee was a doctor with an interest in "alternative medicine."³⁶ In the 1830s he practiced at Wiesbaden, where he and a colleague (the medical advisor to the Landgravine of Hesse), treated friends and other English invalids. Local doctors, who spoke no

³¹ Austrian doctors sometimes used homeopathic medicines since these did not require a license from the state authorities, see Granville, 1837, 2: 308.

³² John Forbes, physician to Queen Victoria, was supporter of both hydrotherapy and homeopathy, *British and Foreign Medical Review* 22 (October 1846): 428-58.

³³ Quoted in W.H. Brock, *Medicine and the Victorian Scientific Press*. In W. G. Bynum, S. Lock and R. Porter, *Medical Journals and Medical Knowledge* (London: New York, 1992), 80-1.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Stephen H. Ward "On Carlsbad and its Mineral Springs in Relation to Affections of the Liver," *The Lancet* (5 July 1873): 76.

³⁶ See Edwin Lee, *Animal Magnetism and Homeopathy, Being the Appendix to the Principal Medical Institutions and Practice in Italy, France and Germany* (London: John Churchill, 1835).

English, noticed that the rise in the number of patients was failing to keep pace with increase in the number of visitors and lodged a complaint under an ancient and hitherto disregarded law. Forbidden by the Nassau authorities to prescribe any of the drugs that were an important source of their income, the English practitioners continued their visits and resorted to the medicine chests of friends, at which point they were ordered to leave the town within 48 hours.³⁷ Subsequently, a number of German doctors learnt English, while Lee himself exploited his knowledge in numerous publications, in which he promoted the therapeutic benefits of the waters and climates of France, Germany and Switzerland.³⁸

Granville and other medical authors frequently issued stern warnings about the importance of seeking and heeding professional advice before embarking on a cure, driven in part, by medical politics and the desire to assert the authority of their professional knowledge against that of lay opinion. In the German and Austrian spas, the process of regulating the use of the waters was more advanced than in Britain or France. There were strict procedures for licensing and controlling spa physicians, who imposed strict regimes on their patients, generated an aura of medical efficiency that was reinforced by the refusal of doctors to treat patients for whom they considered their waters unsuitable.³⁹ Some of the more austere spas strictly policed the kind of amusements that visitors were allowed, so that peace and tranquillity was one of their most distinctive features. As Mary Shelley's account of the quiet life at Kissingen made clear, a

³⁷ *The Times* (August 12, 1839): 4.

³⁸ Edwin Lee, *An Account of the Most Frequented Watering Places on the Continent, and of the Medicinal Application of their Mineral Springs: with Tables of Analysis and an Appendix on English Mineral Waters* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman; Paris: Galignani, 1836), was one of Lee's first guides to foreign waters, and was subject to severe criticism by Granville, 1837, 1: xxi. However, Lee was a highly successful writer of spa guides including Bradshaw's *Guide to the Continent* (London: W.J. Adams/ Manchester: Bradshaw and Blacklock, 1851). Lee eventually established a practice in the south of France specialising in the treatment of consumption.

³⁹ In France important groups within the French medical elites were committed to thermalism as a medical and scientific enterprise, see Weisz, *The Medical Mandarins*, 152-3.

small German spa was no place for anyone who wanted some serious gaiety.⁴⁰

Over the next three decades the increase in the flow of British tourists abroad was matched by the expansion of the press.⁴¹ Reports on the doings of well-known figures indicate that spa visits were an obligatory part of the annual routine for the obese, gouty or dyspeptic, for whom any regime based on moderation and exercise was likely to be beneficial. Included in the ranks of the new middle-class patients who consulted their doctors about foreign trips were the professional journalists who came to prominence in the mid-century and shared their readers' regard for foreign holidays.⁴² George Augustus Sala was one of the many drawn to the "sinful" pleasures of Monte Carlo where he regularly took his holidays.⁴³ In 1873, Dr. John McPherson noted that the "stream of English to continental baths is increasing every year[...] the English find it not more expensive to visit a foreign spa, than to go to the seaside at home [...] and since the imagination is pleased to dwell on their hidden virtues, visits to spas will always be

⁴⁰ See Beth Dolan Kautz, "Spas and Salutory Landscapes: the Geography of Health. Mary Shelley's *Rambles in Germany and Italy*," in *Romantic Geographies, Discourses of Travel 1775-1844*, ed. Amanda Gilroy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

⁴¹ For a discussion of the press, see Mark Hampton, *Visions of the Press in Britain: 1850-1950*, (Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004); for its role in the promotion of travel, Jill Steward, "Where and How to Go: the Role of Travel Journalism in Britain and the Evolution of Foreign Tourism, 1840-1914," in *Tourisms, Histories and Identities: Nations, Destinations and Representations in Europe and Beyond*, ed. John. K. Walton (Clevedon: Channel View, 2005).

⁴² Frank C. Burnand, "Some Account of a Visit to Royat," in *Very Much Abroad* (London: Bradbury Agnew, 1890), 171.

⁴³ George Augustus Sala, *Life and Adventures* 2 (London: Cassell, 1895), 280. For non-participants, gambling was the subject of prurient interest exemplified by Mrs Trollope's shocked excitement at the sight of "the worst and vilest in the hope of pillage at the gaming tables," *Belgium and Western Germany* 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1834), 1: 68-70. On the association see "Watering-places and Gambling," *The Lancet* (December 20, 1902, 1710-1711). The author argues that statistics show that prohibition of gambling had little effect on custom and that in the case of Nauheim, which was accustomed to use the proceeds for development the amenities, it had been positively beneficial.

popular.⁴⁴ The problem of choice remained whoever for he commented that even the “best home practitioners, though frequently recommending their patients to try the efficacy of the springs of Germany, rarely indicate the spot, referring them to some foreign authority.”⁴⁵

British authorities, with few exceptions, had until this point seldom referred patients to the French inland spas.⁴⁶ But, as improvements to communications and redevelopment got under way in the 1870s, there were signs of new interest from within the medical profession, although most doctors remained loyal to the German baths, considering them the “best managed, and best suited to the taste of English visitors.”⁴⁷ Homberg remained popular because of its location and the patronage of the royal family, even after Prussian annexation in 1866 led to the closure of the casino.⁴⁸ All was not lost for the French in McPherson’s view, for “many of the French ones leave nothing to be desired, and the recent war with Germany has created in France a spirit of rivalry with the German baths, which though it has been carried to a foolish extent, is at least tending to the improvement of French establishments.”⁴⁹

⁴⁴ John McPherson M.D., *The Baths and Wells of Europe*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1873), 9-10.

⁴⁵ “Meditations on Dyspepsia II,” 414.

⁴⁶ A.B. Granville, *The Mineral Springs of Vichy; a Sketch of Their Chemical and Physical Characters, and of Their Efficacy in the Treatment of Various Diseases. Written after a Rapid Excursion from Kissingen, in the Summer of 1858, as a Guide to English Invalids Suffering from Gout, Indigestion, Acidity of the Stomach and Grave* (London: Churchill, 1859). “Vichy; a discussion,” *The Lancet* (September 22 1877): 446-6. *The Lancet* carried an article on Vichy as it began to equal Aix in its attractiveness and a number of the more accessible smaller spas such as Enghien attracted notice in the press.

⁴⁷ McPherson, 1873, 9-10. He also notes that French medicine, while still based on faith in “the mystical powers of waters,” was becoming emancipated, 5.

⁴⁸ An article on “Watering-places and Gambling,” in *The Lancet* (December 20 1902), 1710-1711, came up with statistics to demonstrate that the prohibitions of gambling had little effect on their custom and that in the case of Nauheim that had previously used the proceeds to fund the development of its amenities, it had been positively beneficial.

⁴⁹ McPherson, 1873, 9-10.

He was proved to be correct as the social elites began to take advantage of the new amenities of the French *villes d'eaux* as they expanded under the Second Empire.⁵⁰ Aix-les-Bains had always been popular with the British because of its location in Savoy and its casino. The journalist Frank Burnand recalled a pleasure trip to the town as one of the few real holidays he had experienced and thoroughly enjoyed.⁵¹ In the 1880s, its profile was greatly raised among the British after its discovery by the royal family, confirming its place in British esteem.⁵² Medical interest helped to make it fashionable to visit a French rather than a German spa, particularly after Dr. John Burney Yeo wrote a series of articles in 1879 for a number of influential publications, including one on Vichy and another on the spas of the Auvergne of which only Mont Dore, he noted, was then known to the English, but implying that their time was coming.⁵³ In his opinion Vichy's waters were actually superior to those of Homberg, or even Carlsbad, for certain complaints, but despite its excellent hotels, amenities and competitive prices, it lacked the beautiful natural settings of its German competitor.⁵⁴ Moreover Homberg was nearer to "the regular Swiss round... closer to the somewhat cocknified Rhine, and, moreover, it is the custom with German physicians when a serious course of waters has been advised

⁵⁰ See Douglas Mackaman, *Leisure Settings Bourgeois Culture and the Spa in Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 121-54; Lise Grenier, *Villes d'eaux en France* (Paris: Hazan, 1985), and for comparison Rolf Bothe, ed., *Kurstädte in Deutschland sur Geschichte einer Baugattung* (Berlin: Frölich and Kaufmann, 1984).

⁵¹ Sir Frank Burnand *Records and Reminiscences: Personal and General* 2 (London: McLure 1904), 249.

⁵² Aix-les-Bains, *Illustrated London News* (October 4 1887): 4.

⁵³ Dr. I. Burney Yeo, *Health Resorts and their Uses: Being Vacation Studies in Various Health Resorts* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1882), 159.

⁵⁴ J. Burney Yeo, "Some French Health Resorts: Vichy," *The Times* (August 25 1873): 4. McPherson claims Homberg was more popular (c. 1869), with the English, Americans and French than with the Germans, where presumably the French presence went into rapid decline after the Franco-Prussian War. See Douglas Mackaman, "Competing Visions of Urban Grandeur: Planning and Developing Nineteenth-Century Spa Towns in France," in Borsay *et al.*, *New Directions in Urban History*, 60-61, on the rise of "thermal nationalism." See note 11.

to prescribe an “after-cure” in the Swiss mountains or in the Black Forest,” something that French doctors did not do.⁵⁵

Burney Yeo’s essays clearly had some effect, since *Punch* abandoned its usual preoccupation with the French seaside for the inland spa. *Punch* was always keen on topics familiar to the public, such as dubious medical practices and strange remedies.⁵⁶ It was in this ironic vein that Frank Burnard depicted cures taken at La Bourboule and Royat, the most easily accessible from Britain (Fig. 17-1).

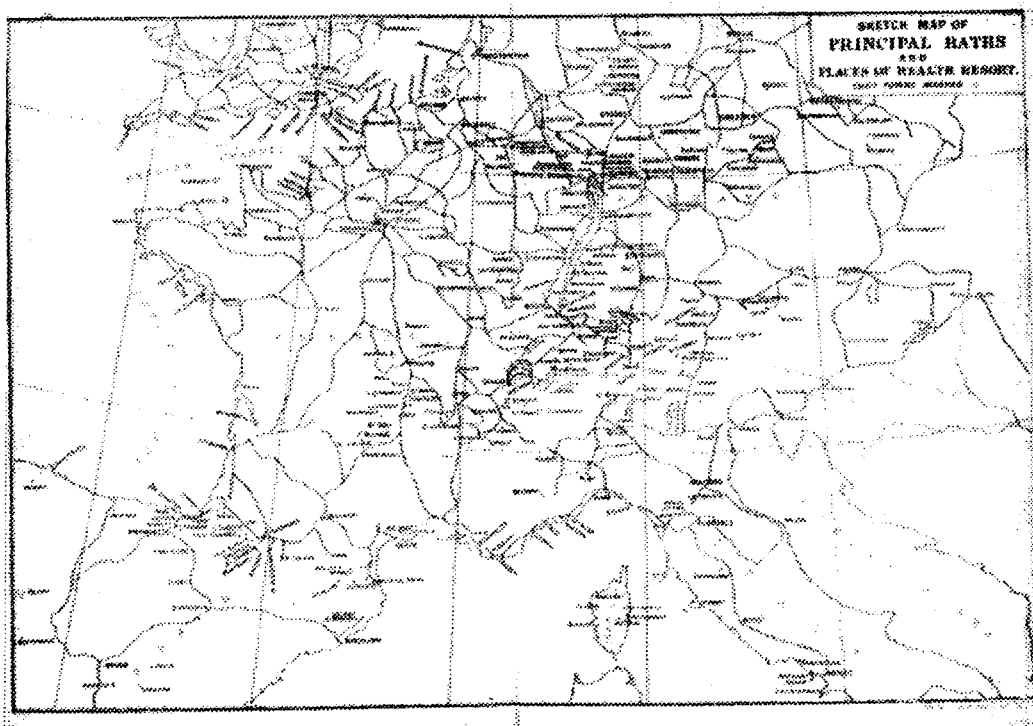


Fig. 17-1. From John McPherson, M.D. (1873). *The Baths and Wells of Europe*. 2nd ed. London: Macmillan, 1873, 189. Courtesy of the Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle upon Tyne.

⁵⁵ Burney Yeo, 1882, 160.

⁵⁶ Frank Burnard, *Very Much Abroad* (London; Bradbury, Agnew, 1890), 172; see Richard Noakes, *Punch and comic journalism in mid-Victorian Britain*. In Geoffrey Cantor, Gowan Gawson, Graeme Godday, Richard Noakes, Sally Shuttleworth and Jonathan R. Topham, *Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical: Reading the Magazine of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 107.

Recommended to the latter by his doctor, who was intent on going there himself, the author claimed to be greatly put out when: "EVERYBODY—that is everybody to whose friendly judgement I submit my intention of going to Royat-les-Bains—says 'What on earth are you going to Royat for? Why not Vichy, Aix-les-Bains, La Bourboule, Mont-Dore, Homberg or Luchon?'"⁵⁷

France was not the only country where health tourism was undergoing rapid expansion. The founding and redevelopment of many more spas and health resorts across the continent increased competition nationally and regionally, as resort authorities invested heavily in new facilities and tried to attract new and wealthy customers to pay for them. Physicians, patients and tourists were presented with the problem of choosing from an increasingly diverse and expanding market. Few doctors had very much experience of foreign watering places and often turned, as in the past, to one of the many guides and handbooks to the watering places of Europe now increasingly available and published in many different languages. These listed particular waters, airs and climates and indicated the ailments for which they might be beneficial. In these guides it is possible to discern a form of "system" constructed out of previous works, particularly the scientific treatises classifying the waters, textbooks written for the medical profession, works by spa physicians and travelogues written by visitors to the spas.⁵⁸ As with any system, the way it was represented depended upon the particular medical and cultural context. Scientific typologies of waters, airs and climates were structured by enlightenment discourse while the range and focus of medical guides to the spas were limited by the particular expertise and cultural set of the authors,⁵⁹ although they frequently borrowed

⁵⁷ From our roving correspondent, "Aix-les-Bains: Discussion," *The Lancet* (July 29 1882): 165; M. Austin Boyd, "Some Notes on the Mineral Springs of Auvergne," *The Lancet* (October 22 1887): 804-6.

⁵⁸ Herman Klenze, *Taschenbuch für Badereisende und Kurgäste: Aertzlicher, Rathgeber und Führer durch die namhaftesten Kurplätze Deutschlands, Oesterreichs, der Schweiz, Frankreichs, Englands, Italiens und anderer europäischer und aussereuropäischer Länder* (Leipzig; Eduard Rummer, 1875).

⁵⁹ On national cultures revealed in medicine, see Lynn Payer, *Medicine and Culture: Notions of Health and Sickness in Britain, the US, France and West Germany* (London: Gollanz, 1989). On complaints of "borrowing," see, A.B. Granville's criticisms of rival spa guides, 1841, 1:xxi.

from each other. Out of the hundreds of smaller spas relatively few were listed in the standard British handbooks published for the lay public, apart from those of Germany, Savoy and the Pyrenees (See Fig. 17-2). In the last two decades of the century, handbooks aimed at the medical profession became progressively thicker and more comprehensive, while those aimed at a lay public, which though not sick was still concerned with its health, became slimmer and overtly commercial.⁶⁰ Not surprisingly therefore many travellers could relate to the sentiments expressed by a correspondent to the *Queen Newspaper*: “the moment always arrives when the doctor suggests a change, the question arises ‘Where to go?’”⁶¹

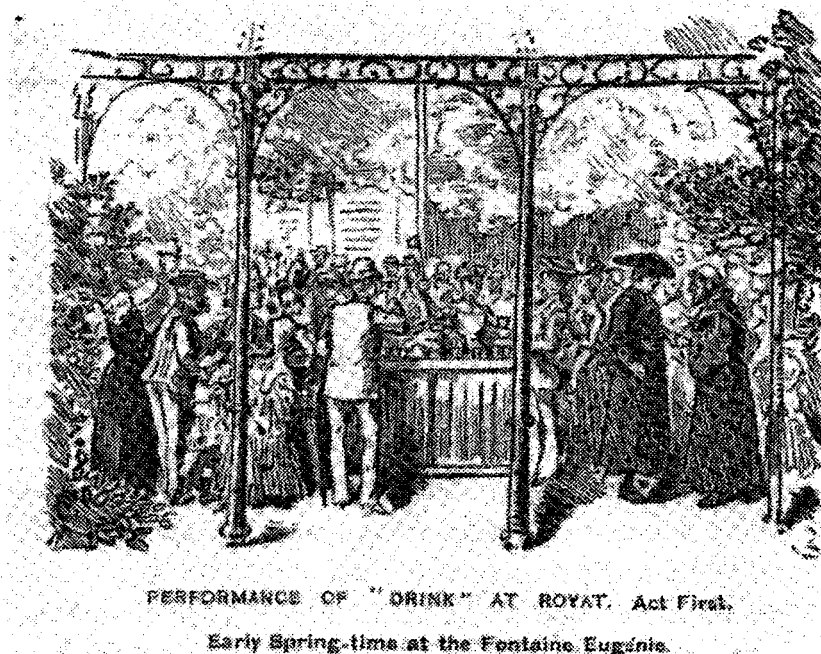


Fig. 17-2. From Frank Burnard (1890), *Very Much Abroad*. London: Bradbury, Agnew, 1890. Author's own.

⁶⁰ For example, Thomas Linn M.D., *The Health Resorts of Europe*, 10th ed. (London: H. Kimpton, 1893). This went through many editions; *Cook's Handbook to the Health Resorts of the South of France, Riviera and Pyrenees* (London: Thom. Cook/Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1900). *Bradshaw's Dictionary of Mineral Waters, Climatic Health Resorts, Sea-baths, and Hydropathic Establishments of the World* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co, 1882-1904).

⁶¹ See “‘Home versus foreign spas’: a correspondent writes,” in *Queen* (January 26 1906): 118.

An enduring danger of all popular guides was the recycling of information from previous publications and the failure to provide accurate or useful information about the non-medical features of a place of the kind most important to patients. The reviewer of a guide to the French spas found much of it so "strictly technical as to be scarcely intelligible to the lay reader," although he conceded that it provided useful and practical information, including details of social and scenic attractions of the kind that would enable practitioners and patients to make comparisons.⁶² Lack of helpful information was a problem for both doctors and patients, particularly since medical textbooks repeatedly emphasised the psychological dimension of spa medicine, an aspect of treatment that could not be generated by waters or climate alone, but was dependent upon other features of a place. Burney Yeo, for example, noted that "the choice of a particular climate for a particular case will frequently have to be determined by individual and personal rather than by general and pathological considerations."⁶³ Apart from the settings and scenery, people wished to know about such items as medical fees and the cost of living, living and eating arrangements and the quality of recreational and social life. And even in the most recent guides, relevant and up-to-date information about travel arrangements, accommodation, prices and treatments often lacked information or were incorrect.

It was here that the press could perform a useful service by providing a forum for the dissemination of the kind of information that went beyond the generalities of a handbook and for the discussion of issues that could directly influence choice. Moreover, increased speed of production made papers responsive to events. Up-to-date information about fashionable hotspots could be gleaned from press coverage of high society in papers like the *Illustrated London News*, while articles about the advantages and disadvantages of places

⁶² "Review of Achille Vintras, *Medical Guide to the Mineral Waters of France and its Wintering Stations*," *The Times* (September 12 1883): 2.

⁶³ J. Burney Yeo, "Doctors are often blamed for moving patients with advanced phthisis but the "sadness and misery of the last few months of life as are left to our patients as cheerful and bright as possible [...] are often mitigated by removal from habitual surroundings, which have become distasteful or wearisome, or from dull cheerless city dwellings, and the contemplation of a landscape which presents all that is bright and beautiful in nature," *A Manual of Medical Treatment* (1913), 754-55.

actually visited by the author in influential up-market papers, such as the *Pall Mall Gazette* or *Belgravia*, also had an effect on readers.⁶⁴ Press publicity helped to make Davos and St Moritz, for example, fashionable first as resorts for consumptives and then as places for winter sports. The relationship between Victorian journals and their readers was a fairly intimate one, assiduously cultivated by editors as competition between rival publications made life in the marketplace more demanding. Readers were addressed as members of a community which recognised itself in shared lifestyles, patterns of consumption and attitudes to health and recreation. British newspapers, such as *The Times*, were relatively easily obtained in the hotels and reading rooms of resorts across the Continent, even in the smallest of watering places.⁶⁵

One example of such a “community” was the readership served by the society magazine, *Queen*. From the 1860s to the First World War, *Queen; the Ladies Magazine* (f. 1861), provided its readers with travel information that was both useful and practical and of a kind not always to be found in guidebooks. *Queen*, founded for an educated middle-class readership, failed to thrive and was sold to Edward. W. Cox, who turned the paper into a “class journal” modelled on the lines of the *Field*, which he also owned and controlled until his death.⁶⁶ Cox organised his papers into departments run by sub-editors. His policy was to focus on matters closely related to the interests, aspirations and lifestyles of his readers. This trend was accentuated in the 1890s, when Cox’s grandson Percy became editor.

One of Edward Cox’s strategies was to initiate an interactive relationship between his publications and their readers, giving them guidance on etiquette, fashion, interior decor and other lifestyle matters. He was quick to appreciate the importance of travel in the

⁶⁴ See for example Jill Steward, “Grant Allen and the Business of Travel,” in *Grant Allen and Cultural Politics at the Fin de Siècle*, ed. William Greenslade and Terence Rodgers (Ashgate: Basingstoke, 2005).

⁶⁵ See Louise Moulton, “Brides-les-Bains,” in *Lazy Tours in Spain and Elsewhere* (London: Ward Lock, 1896), 261.

⁶⁶ Charlotte C. Watkins, “Editing a ‘Class Journal’: Four Decades of the *Queen*,” in *Innovators and Preachers: the Role of the Editor in Victorian England*, ed. Joel H. Wiener (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1983), 185–99; see also “Edward William Cox and Rise of ‘Class Journalism’,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 17 (1984): 887–93.

lives of his readers, offering them a service that filled a gap in the market, the core activity of which was a questions and answers service. In the 1890s the readership began to decline under the impact of competition from other journals and became less well defined as the social elites fragmented into more discrete, but overlapping circles, distinguished from each other by wealth and choice of lifestyle. Percy Cox responded to the situation by moving the paper up-market and focusing on the doings of the "upper 10,000" with the result that the paper rather lost direction.⁶⁷ It continued to make a feature of its travel pages however, under the travel editor Marcus Hornsby, providing a service that actively supported its readers' efforts to obtain value for money by choosing destinations appropriate to their individual needs, tastes and pockets. From 1904, much of the information published in paper was laid out for a wider public in book format, as *The Queen Book of Travel*, updated annually.

The travel columns consisted of three elements: feature articles, the editorial columns and a letters section. The anonymous editor prided himself on the accuracy and up-to-date nature of the information in his columns and the high standards of professionalism maintained.⁶⁸ Information in articles was carefully checked and over-enthusiastic or unbalanced articles were balanced by judicious editorial comment or by letters from correspondents sharing their personal knowledge of the place in question. A number of well-known figures were commissioned to write feature articles for the paper such as Mrs Aubrey le Blond and Douglas Sladen. Often features dealt with places identified as "coming" resorts, but the editor clearly tried to strike a balance by also including items on places well-known and loved by the British. Over the decades there were articles on the largest spas, on the seaside resorts of northern and south west France, the winter stations of the Alps, the Riviera and the Pyrenees and, in later decades, on Madeira, North Africa and the West Indies, as well as articles on lesser known places in regions of interest such as Brittany and Normandy.

The editorial provided a miscellany of news items and a running commentary on the state of the travel industry, controversial issues of

⁶⁷ Watkins, 1983, 198.

⁶⁸ The editor took a dim view of the majority of amateur articles submitted to the paper or published elsewhere, particularly those he described as "botanising from the carriage window," *Queen* (November 9 1985): 882.

the day affecting travellers, gossip about the season's hotspots and letters from correspondents. It also noted changes to transport and travel schedules and other relevant items of news such as spa redevelopment for example, or news of innovatory health treatments. There was an extensive listing of all new publications relating to travel, many of which were reviewed by the editor. Most important of all was the question and answer service that kept the editor directly apprised of readers' concerns and which helped to give the latter a sense of ownership. Letters from readers resident abroad indicate that the paper was widely read in expatriate communities across the Continent. Published replies to unspecified queries (private replies could be had), under captions such as "Buxton 'La Châtelaine'," suggest a wider readership than that implied by the reports on the fashionable to be found elsewhere in the paper. Many readers were concerned with economy and some even inquired about opening boarding houses abroad.⁶⁹ The majority of "queriests" can be assumed to be female, but many correspondents were clearly writing with family members of both sexes in mind.

As the success of the letters indicates, the major problem for readers was how to obtain up-to-date information. Even the established guides (to which he often referred readers), could not be wholly relied on. In reviews, the editor finds Eugene Weber's magisterial work on spa and health resorts and the handbooks of Burney Yeo Linn and Bradshaw all found wanting in some respect or another. Weber's work is comprehensive but lacks detail when needed and the section on "Daily Life" omits to give information on key issues such as doctors' fees, how often they should be consulted and on living expenses. Nor is it sufficiently critical of the accommodation found in many places: "yet we know that much of the accommodation of the spas at home or away, is often both dear and indifferent."⁷⁰ Indeed, in many cases, there is no mention of accommodation at all or if there are English-speaking doctors. It was these kinds of deficiencies that *Queen* set out to remedy. Over the years the travel columns provided readers with the kind of information they needed and dealt with their anxieties, concerns and preferences. People wrote to the paper because they wanted specific information of a practical sort. Where the travel department at *Queen* was able to make a

⁶⁹ *Queen* (April 28 1900): 698.

⁷⁰ *Queen* (July 18 1896): 91.

positive contribution was in the expertise and the network of correspondents that facilitated the collation and communication of up-to-date practical information of the kind that could influence choice. Responses to “queriests” was therefore highly detailed, giving very specific information about travel, accommodation, travel arrangements, suitable dress, etiquette, prices, amenities and climate—all based on the most up-to-date information available from the transport agencies and the experiences of readers and correspondents recently travelled or resident abroad.

How much influence did *Queen* exert over the behaviour of its readers as it responded to the “where shall we go? ...What place will suit us best?”⁷¹ This is not easy to establish but an editorial in 1896 noted that it was through “the advocacy of the *Queen* newspaper that hundreds, if not thousands of visitors have gone to Montreux who would not have visited it otherwise.”⁷² Of those who could best afford to stay in the smartest hotels in the most elegant resorts it seems unlikely that it was *Queen*’s recommendation that persuaded them to visit Aix-les-Bains, Vichy or Baden Baden, since such places constituted their natural milieu, particularly if connected to the diplomatic and consular services.⁷³ But the society reports noting the movements of celebrities who flitted to and fro across the continent identified the “hot spots” of the day to readers: and the presence of the Prince of Wales invariably increased the numbers of British present in a resort. Editorial “Echoes” from the south and “from sands and spas” recorded the success or failure of the season in particular resorts in conformity with the seasonal imperatives that ruled the lives of many readers.⁷⁴ Lists of visitors gracing the particular resorts assumed insider knowledge of their social standing.

In the early decades, the paper addressed a broader and more middle class readership than in its later days and one still relatively unaccustomed to foreign travel. *Queen* was particularly helpful to these readers by presenting going abroad as a relatively straightforward activity. In the later decades the number of columns devoted

⁷¹ *Queen* (April 28 1912): 616.

⁷² *Queen* (February 8 1896): 254.

⁷³ The presence of royalty certainly entailed such an entourage. See also Blackbourn, 2002, 9-21.

⁷⁴ Leonora Davidoff, *The Best Circles, Society, Etiquette and the Season* (London: Croom Helm, 1974).

to queries was massively increased in the summer months as readers sought advice on winter quarters. An indication of the influence that recommendations and publicity in *Queen* could have is shown by the speed with which officials or residents of a place responded to criticism and wrote in to put the record straight. Equally suggestive is the vehemence with which the travel editor insists on the impartiality of his advice and the importance of maintaining professional standards.⁷⁵ Clearly, if *Queen*'s advice was to going to be acted upon then, it had to be reliable. Correspondents were quick to take up the matter if they thought they had been wrongly advised. Inevitably however, the travel editor's recommendations were based on his own view of his readers, based on long experience of their concerns. It was therefore his practice to refer them, wherever possible, to places with a nucleus of English residents, some kind of English club, an English-speaking doctor and an English church.⁷⁶

In the editor's opinion "the majority of English only use the Continent of Europe as a means of diversion."⁷⁷ However this did not exclude an interest in health, even though he made it a policy not to advise correspondents on their health.⁷⁸ When someone accused him of treating Davos as a resort for consumptives he replied "My correspondents are, as a rule, sound in wind and limb and go to Davos and other winter mountain resorts for the skiing, tobogganing..." Yet a great number of correspondents or their family members were clearly suffering from phthisis or some kind of pulmonary disorder and were looking for affordable place with a suitable climate or facilities. Others were concerned with health in a more general sense. In an article on the "sun and air cure" at Veldes, a correspondent wrote about "the atmosphere of thought today, when thoughtful men and women are beginning to realise the evils, the losses to health and life, which are involved in the present conditions of ordinary

⁷⁵ *Queen* (January 13 1900): 85

⁷⁶ *Queen* (September 14 1895): 502.

⁷⁷ *Queen* (February 9 1895): 257.

⁷⁸ It was in this kind of situation that the editor himself turned to medical guides such as Burney Yeo or Linn for help. For example, *Queen* (July 22 1893): 195. "St Moritz, Engadine ('Mater'),—our questions are so closely verging on the purely medical, that I hesitate to answer them. Perhaps I had better quote a first authority, Dr Burney Yeo on the climate."

⁷⁸ *Queen* (February 9 1895): 97, 257.

conventional existence—a result of servile obedience to the tyranny of a social law, which under the name of custom crushes body and soul under its iron rule.”⁷⁹ Similar sentiments were expressed in Max Nordau’s book *Degeneration* (published in England in 1895),⁸⁰ in which he commented on the deleterious effects of urban living and ill disciplined life-styles on the upper classes and the fashionable diseases, such as neurasthenia and sexual pathology, to which it gave rise. Such sentiments helped to maintain the popularity of spas as popular places in which to recuperate from the rigours of modern life: those most popular with the English had sporting facilities such as golf and tennis courts.

Spa culture was clearly a topic considered of interest to many readers, even if the majority were more interested in leisure facilities than medical regimes. In the early decades, most attention was given to the German spas, especially Wiesbaden, Homberg and Baden Baden, but in the 1870s-80s this was extended to the more fashionable French spas, notably, Aix and the spas of the Auvergne. In the 1890s the use of places like Royat as backgrounds for the new seasons’ fashions confirmed their reputation as places in which to be seen.⁸¹ In the 1890s, the growing volume of the British staying in foreign health resorts, led to attacks on the editor for “lack of patriotism.”⁸² In reply, the editor defended the amount of coverage given to foreign resorts, arguing that people were supposed to know their own country, or could easily find the information they needed, much of it in the provincial newspapers that devoted long articles, throughout the season, to this or that resort but: “here, we endeavour all year round to follow the tide of travel.”⁸³ In any case information about foreign resorts could be obtained nowhere “except in these columns, and those of *Field* (devoted especially to the colonies and more distant parts of

⁷⁹ *Queen* (August 28 1890): 282.

⁸⁰ Max Nordau, *Degeneration* (London: Heineman, 1895), 35, 7.

⁸¹ “Costume for Royat les Bains,” *Queen* (August 12 1899): 277.

⁸² *Queen* (April 27 1895): 731. “The amount of abuse which is showered on my head for simply answering correspondents who wish to know something of our Continental travel—construed as want of patriotism—is far more than my readers are generally aware of; more information on Continental travel is needed.”

⁸³ *Queen* (April 15 1899): 257.

the world), and few opportunities exist in newspapers for the mutual exchange of information on purely "*sujets de voyage*."⁸⁴

The issue of publicity was a vexed one. Of resorts which wanted the prestige of foreign visitors the editor remarked: "If a new resort can acquire British patronage it knows that its reputation is made...."⁸⁵ Such an attachment, in the view of the editor, was unaffected by fashion, but, he observed, a place once lost to the British could not expect their return.⁸⁶ In the eyes of the editor "lost" sometimes meant the absence of fashionable society. As he remarked apropos of the proposed redevelopment of Pau "Every dog has its day and every fashionable spa too. At the end of the last century it was Montpellier, whoever has heard of Montpellier now? ...its name lingers on, but in the name of some terrace and thoroughfare in an English watering place..."⁸⁷ The competition for customers led to a number of strategies. One journal referred to the "thinly veiled system of touting for patients which is carried on at many health resorts."⁸⁸ This was still an issue when *Queen's* editor referred to the unscrupulous tactics used by some spa doctors to recruit patients; elsewhere he referred to the "many German medical men who frequently visit England in order to introduce themselves and their waters to the profession." Editorial comment over a sustained period makes it clear that the Rhenish spas were very anxious to maintain their British customers in the face of growing competition from other European spas and were well aware of the need for publicity. Even small German spas unknown in Britain could be relied upon to supply an elaborate prospectus.⁸⁹ By contrast, the French "object to *faire la réclame*," explaining perhaps, the editor thought, the scant use that English doctors made of the spas in the Pyrenees. Moreover German spa physicians certainly provided the

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Queen* (January 6 1906): 41

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Queen* (March 3 1894): 347.

⁸⁸ *Journal of Balneology and Climatology* 1 (1877): 248, describes the "practice of calling upon medical men in London and other large towns with a view to inducing them to send patients to be under the care of the callers residing in certain resorts, used to be a curse—peculiar to a few continental physicians, English medical touts and large resorts on the southern coast."

⁸⁹ *Queen* (May 18 1895): 893.

paper with a steady stream of information, so that the editor took care to remind readers every so often of the paper's policy of impartiality.⁹⁰

At the end of the century there was greater coverage of the domestic scene, with an occasional feature on English or Scottish establishments.⁹¹ The state of the domestic tourist industry was a vexed question. The editor was not a supporter of British hydropathic establishments. He frequently railed against widespread overpricing and poor climate, poor food and poor service, problems that he and many of his correspondents regarded as characteristic; they were also unhappy about the social tone. The fact that "many British hydros are more fashionable *pensions* than general sanatoriums, is more the fault of the visitors than of the management."⁹² According to the editor, the problems of the hydro began when the hydros started to offer "luxury and amusement" as inducements instead of relying on the attraction that "health regained by spare diet and vigorous bath applications had alone been sufficient to maintain [...] Many now [...] are nothing more than huge boarding houses, indisputable rivals not only of each other, but of the neighbouring hotels, completely losing sight of their prime objects, viz. the reception of patients in need of health restoration."⁹³ Even at Matlock, which retained something of the true spirit of its founder John Smedley, only half of the guests were there because of the medical care, while the rest came only for the kind of pleasure and recreation "possible in the billiard room" where "smoking was allowed."⁹⁴ Different problems arose in Wales. As one article in *Queen* dolefully asked of a Welsh spa, "What, if on the one hand the waters will cure you, but on the other the dullness will kill you?"⁹⁵

Not that everything on the Continent was superior. Although France was highly popular with the British, both editor and correspondents frequently complained about the inadequacies of French-

⁹⁰ *Queen* (October 3 1898): 616. "Not a week passes but little books are sent me, wonderfully illustrated in which some new and old watering place is extolled..."

⁹¹ "Strathpepper spa," *Queen* (July 18 1896): 136; "Gilsland," *Queen* (September 17): 189, 453.

⁹² *Queen* (May 18 1895): 893.

⁹³ *Queen* (March 10 1906): 434.

⁹⁴ *Queen* (June 22 1895): 143.

⁹⁵ *Queen* (July 28 1912): 41.

managed hotels and the uncivilised sanitary arrangements. The colonies of *hivernants* were concerned about anti-British feeling on the Riviera and threats from the “France for the French movement.”⁹⁶ Outrage was expressed about plans to impose taxes on foreign residents and proposed changes to the medical regulations that would prohibit doctors without French qualifications from practising in France. This was particularly resented by the resident colonies, since few correspondents seem to have found French doctors willing or able to speak English, unlike German spa physicians, who clearly agreed with *Queen* that if a resort had loyal British customers “[...] it has something to fall back on for the rainy day.”⁹⁷

At the beginning of the twentieth century the question “why go abroad?” began to be taken seriously. By 1906 the great majority of replies to correspondents related to English resorts, partly as a response to more aggressive marketing by the domestic tourist industry.⁹⁸ There was also less need for those requiring new kinds of treatment to seek them abroad, as the English spa trade became increasingly competitive in terms of their prices and the range of treatments they offered.⁹⁹ *Queen* reported that, in the opinion of the English press, the domestic resorts of Harrogate, Matlock (the “Carlsbad of England”),¹⁰⁰ Buxton and Strathpeffer now stood a

⁹⁶ *Queen* (January 5 1895): 38.

⁹⁷ *Queen* (January 6 1906): 41.

⁹⁸ For a discussion of British attitudes to publicity see the Introduction to *Imperial International Exhibition Catalogue* (London: Bemrose and Son, 1909), XX. British municipal authorities were not allowed to use their funds for advertising their spas, unlike their continental competitors; see John Beckerson, “Marketing British Tourism: Government Approaches to the Stimulation of a Service Sector, 1880-1950,” in Harmut Berghoff, Barbara Korte, Ralf Schneider and Christopher Harvie, eds., *The Making of Modern Tourism: the Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 134-37.

⁹⁹ The *Lancet* carried reports on trips made by parties of British doctors to French and German spas in order to study their facilities treatments. This activity seems to have been initiated by the French (c.1898), who were becoming much more interested in British customers, see “Medical Excursions to French Mineral Water Resorts,” *The Lancet* (June 11 1904): 1674. “British Medical Men and German Watering Places,” *The Lancet* (August 10 and 17 1901): 489, 417-18.

¹⁰⁰ *Queen* (May 13 1905): 264.

"chance of recapturing "that large class which has for years patronised Homberg and Baden Baden."¹⁰¹ The British who patronised foreign spas were more likely to be members of the international elites than members of the middle classes, apart from those who found that the resorts of the Pyrenees and the south of Tyrol created excellent places to spend the winter. Growing competition on a regional and national level not only expanded the range of destinations, but also led to growing uniformity in the nature of what they had to offer. *Queen* observed that, in spite of the seriousness of foreign amusements "all foreign resorts are alike in the matter; they all aim at attracting the same clientele by the same amusements, and neglect in some cases their own unique natural attractions and their local characteristics in favour of monotonous cosmopolitanism."¹⁰² Such sentiments were shared by many of those who began to seek novelty and difference further afield, for as the editor reflected: "The wires of the telegraph and telephone, even the routes of the locomotives are slowly becoming international ties..."¹⁰³

In conclusion: the nineteenth century publishing industry, particularly the press, played an important part in promoting the patterns of travel that became one of the distinguishing features of the distinctive lifestyles through which the social and cultural identities of the upper and middle classes were expressed and maintained. Medical guides and handbooks and articles in the British press generated public interest in and publicity for places, that tended to reinforce patterns of behaviour already evident among particular social groups, as well as encouraging new ones. However, in considering where and why people travelled in the nineteenth century it is necessary not only to look at general trends, but also to consider the particular choices made by individuals and to ask why they went to the places they did.

This essay has suggested that, in the second half of the century, the expansion of the British press created an influential forum for the dissemination of useful information about continental spa culture and its reception by interested parties. The press functioned as a mediating

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Queen* (March 10 1906): 434. See also the *Journal of British and Foreign Health Resorts: A Monthly Record of Baths, Climate, Spa News and Spa Gossip*, 1889-94. I am indebted to Dr Alastair Durie for this information.

¹⁰³ *Queen* (June 26 1897): 1094.

presence between the free and expanding market of the spa trade on the one hand, and the needs and preferences of individual customers on the other, constituting a space in which personal testimony and impartial recommendation could be matched against the information available in standard handbooks and promotional publicity. While *Queen* was perhaps the best example of the way that publicity and the sharing of information within a particular reading community could influence the travel choices made by individuals, it was not alone, for many of the publications targeting middle- and upper-class audiences published pieces on health and leisure which might have been useful to someone. In a period when up-to date factual information was sometimes difficult to come by and experience inclined patients and physicians to be sceptical about claims made about the effectiveness of any particular waters, reliable personal and professional testimony and assistance in solving personal dilemmas were valuable commodities which helped to sell papers as well as spas.

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APPENDIX

DECLARATION OF CO-AUTHORSHIP OF PUBLISHED WORK

(Please use one form per co-author per publication)

Section A

Name of candidate: JHL STEWARD

Name of co-author: MALCOLM GEE

Full bibliographical details of the publication (including authors):

M. GEE, T. KIRK & J. STEWARD, 'INTRODUCTION' ^{CULTURE & SOCIETY}
IN THE CITY IN CENTRAL EUROPE: FROM 1800
TO THE PRESENT, EDITED BY M. GEE, T. KIRK &
J. STEWARD CALDERSHOT. ABBEY, 1999,
1-189.

Section B

DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE (delete as appropriate)

I declare that my contribution to the above publication was as:

- (i) principal author
- ☒ (ii) joint author
- (iii) minor contributing author

Signed: JHL Steward (candidate) 12/03/08 (date)

Section C

STATEMENT BY CO-AUTHOR (delete as appropriate)

- Either (i) I agree with the above declaration by the candidate
- or (ii) ~~I do not agree with the above declaration by the candidate for the following reason(s):~~

Signed: RG (co-author) 12/3/08 (date)

DECLARATION OF CO-AUTHORSHIP OF PUBLISHED WORK

(Please use one form per co-author per publication)

Section A

Name of candidate: JIM STEWARD

Name of co-author: T. KIRK / TIMOTHY KIRK.

Full bibliographical details of the publication (including authors):

M. GEE, T. KIRK, J. STEWARD, 'Introduction', IN
THE CITY IN CENTRAL EUROPE: CULTURE &
SOCIETY FROM NOW TO THE PRESENT, EDITED BY
M. GEE, T. KIRK - J. STEWARD (ALDERSHOT,
ASHGATE, 1999)

Section B

DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE (delete as appropriate)

I declare that my contribution to the above publication was as:

- (i) principal author
- (ii) joint author
- (iii) minor contributing author

Signed: (candidate) 20/03/08 (date)

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